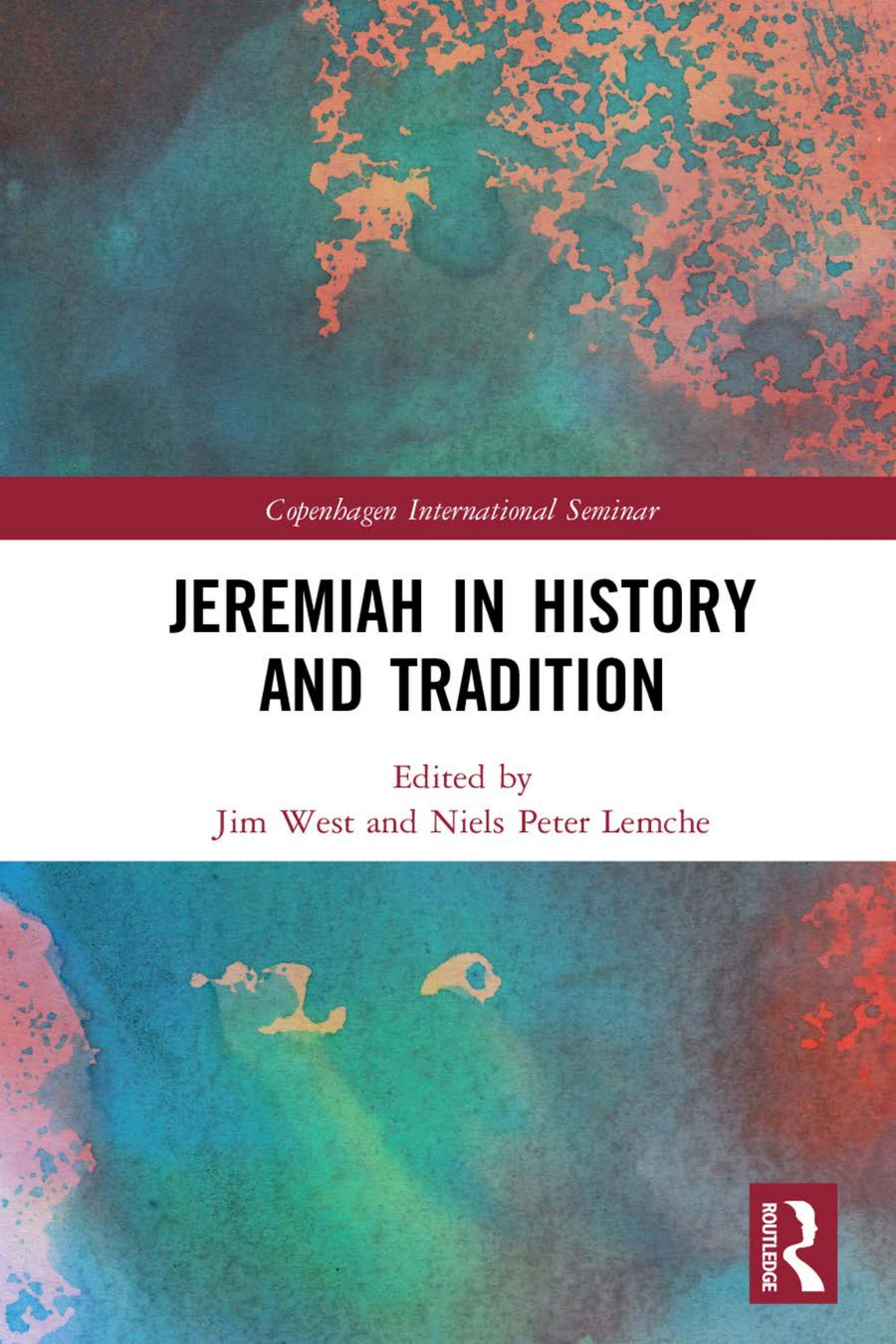




Copenhagen International Seminar

JEREMIAH IN HISTORY AND TRADITION

Edited by
Jim West and Niels Peter Lemche



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Jeremiah in History and Tradition

Jeremiah in History and Tradition examines aspects of the Book of Jeremiah from a variety of perspectives including historical, textual, redaction, and feminist criticism, as well as the history of its reception.

The book looks afresh at the Book of Jeremiah through the lens of intertextuality and reception history in the broadest sense, exploring Jeremiah in its historical context as well as the later history and interpretation of the text, and also reconsidering aspects of the Book of Jeremiah's traditions. This volume features essays from a unique assembly of scholars, both seasoned and new. It is divided into two parts: "Jeremiah in History", which explores a variety of readings of Jeremiah from the point of view of classical historical criticism; and "Jeremiah in Tradition", which discusses the portraits and use of both the book and the figure of Jeremiah in extra-biblical traditions.

Offering challenging new theories, *Jeremiah in History and Tradition* is invaluable to scholars and students in the field of Biblical Studies. It is a useful resource for anyone working on the interpretation of the biblical text and the readings of the text of Jeremiah throughout history.

Jim West is a Lecturer in Biblical Studies and Church History at Ming Hua Theological College, Hong Kong, and Associate Editor of the *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*. He is the author of a series of commentaries on the Bible and co-editor, with J. Crossley, of *History, Politics and the Bible from the Iron Age to the Media Age* (2016).

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Jeremiah in History and Tradition

**Edited by Jim West and
Niels Peter Lemche**

First published 2020
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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individual chapters, the contributors

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: West, Jim, 1960– editor.

Title: Jeremiah in history and tradition / edited by Jim West and Niels Peter Lemche.

Description: First [edition]. | New York : Routledge, 2019. |

Series: Copenhagen international seminar | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019018782 (print) | ISBN 9780367182168 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9780429060144 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Jeremiah—Criticism, interpretation, etc.

Classification: LCC BS1525.52 .J455 2019 (print) | LCC BS1525.52 (ebook) | DDC 224/.206—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019018782>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019980455>

ISBN: 978-0-367-18216-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-06014-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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Introduction

Jeremiah in history and tradition

Jim West and Niels Peter Lemche

The vast forest of intellectual activity focused on Jeremiah, just one book of the Bible, indicates the massive interest which the biblical texts hold for at least a substantial portion of humanity. And there is no suggestion that interest is easing up.

On the other hand, it may seem that progress forward, in terms of our understanding of the Book of Jeremiah or for that matter any other prophetic book, has not increased substantially since the early days of historical criticism. Prior to that period, of course, the Book of Jeremiah, and the entire Bible, was read through the lens of the early Church fathers. Even though the Reformers made adjustments to that method and tended towards a beginning of historical enquiry, things did not really change all that dramatically. However, reviewing the study of prophetic books, say a generation ago and today will show that almost everything has changed. Very few of the articles included in this volume would have been possible 30 years ago. Instead of the classical historical critical method, several new approaches have been proposed. Seen in this light, the present volume may push forward new trends in prophetic studies rather than proposing new ways of understanding this literature.

With the arrival of historical criticism, it was hoped, questions of authorship and date and purpose and audience could all be solved. Alas, no such solutions were forthcoming. Indeed, more questions were raised than answered. And yet we continue to seek answers to critical and core questions, adding to historical criticism methodological tools like reading-response criticism, feminist hermeneutics, reception history and more.

Now is not, however, the time or the place to rehash the history of historical criticism, nor indeed, the hermeneutical history of the biblical text. Rather, it is to address the issues which the present volume examines in our own quest to move knowledge forward.

What, then, are the issues examined here? What is the aim of the present collection? It is, in sum, to look afresh at the Book of Jeremiah from two major perspectives: the perspective of history and in particular, the history of the Book of Jeremiah. And second, to reconsider aspects of the Book of Jeremiah's traditions. In this way we may say that the 'key words' for this collection are intertextuality and reception history in the broadest sense. Jeremiah in history and tradition, broadly speaking, is the focus of our enterprise. With that in mind, what follows is a two-fold collection of essays which take, in turn, those hermeneutical foci.

Part I: *Jeremiah in History* opens with “The Book of Jeremiah’s Redaction History in Light of Its Oldest Manuscripts” by Michael Langlois. Langlois’s very careful and critical foundational work begins where all studies of the biblical text should begin: with the text. The material Langlois provides helps us to understand, in a way hitherto not accomplished, the textual history of this textually difficult Hebrew text – not to speak of the problems inherent in the Greek texts of the LXX. Thus a fair share of his article presents a careful analysis of the evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls, genuine as well as fakes (as some of those earlier believed to be genuine have to be rejected as modern examples of fraud). On the basis of his analysis of the textual material he can conclude that the editing of Jeremiah went on until fairly late, stretching – according to the available material – from the third century BCE and up to close to the turn of tides if not later. Another conclusion is that there existed a shorter Hebrew version related to the abridged version of the LXX, and furthermore that we cannot speak of a priority of one version of the Hebrew text compared to other editions. Several developments seem to have taken place and at the same time.

Chapter 2, “Jeremiah, Plato and Socrates: Greek Antecedents to the Book of Jeremiah”, by Russell Gmirkin leads us in another direction but can in fact be seen as complementary to the first chapter. Here we move beyond the raw text of Jeremiah and we encounter its thought world or its intellectual birthplace. Scholars have been looking for some time now at the Greek underpinnings of materials in The Torah and in the historical books from Joshua to 2 Kings, sometimes to an extent that could be dubbed ‘pan-Hellenism’. Other parts of the Hebrew Bible have so far been let alone, not least the prophetic literature. Gmirkin, who has previously argued for a Hellenistic date of The Torah and its reliance on not least Plato’s writings, applies the same comparative technique for the Book of Jeremiah. He realizes that placed in context the image of the persecuted prophet Jeremiah found in the book bearing his name seems patterned on Plato’s description of Socrates (ca. 400–350 BCE). He further argues that the Oracles against the Nations drew on the *Sibylline Oracles* (known in the east after ca. 335 BCE), and that the account of Jerusalem’s fall in Jeremiah and Kings drew on the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus (ca. 280 BCE). Putting all this in context, it points to a date for the composition of Jeremiah, ca. 270 BCE, thus being almost contemporary with the creation of the Pentateuch. This late date undermines Jeremiah’s value as a historical source although a certain reliance on a local oral tradition originating within the Shaphanite circle of the early Hellenistic era may be surmised.

The third chapter, by Niels Peter Lemche, moves us further into the question of Jeremiah and history. Lemche wonders “Will Jeremiah Save the History of Ancient Israel?” More precisely, he asks “Which came first: Jeremiah or his book?” This article was provoked when Robert Carroll’s brilliant Jeremiah commentary was removed from the *Old Testament Library* and substituted with a most indifferent one. Carroll had, in a very pointed way, made it clear that it was the people who collected the material found in the Book of Jeremiah who created this prophet rather than the other way around, making him the spokesperson for a specific group and their ‘eyewitness’ to the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of

the first temple. But they did not complete their project. Thus the real ‘crux’ when discussing the relationship of Jeremiah to history is the divergent descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem in Jeremiah 29 and 52. The description of the fall of Jerusalem in Jeremiah 29 is difficult to align with the one in 2 Kings – especially the missing reference to the destruction of the temple catches the eye. Accordingly, Jeremiah 52 is evidently added to the Jeremiah scroll to correct the version in chapter 29, but still presents a date for the burning of the temple which is different from that found in 2 Kings. If anything it shows how the writers creating the history of biblical Israel were wrestling with getting their ‘facts’ online.

If Jeremiah cannot be assumed, at face value, to be ‘historical’, then perhaps episodes in the Book of Jeremiah also raise questions of historicity. With that in mind, the fourth chapter titled “Jeremiah and the Ark” by Thomas Römer investigates the fate of the ark of the covenant in the wider biblical story and then particularly in the Book of Jeremiah. What happened to the ark? And why does God command it not be rebuilt? And why is it absent in the Latter Prophets except in Jeremiah? Thomas Römer’s answer is that the ark was indeed destroyed together with the temple in 587, but later speculation turned around its fate claiming among other things that Jeremiah had hidden the ark from the Babylonian conquerors.

And finally, in terms of the first part of the volume, in Chapter 5, Lisbeth S. Fried brings us back to foundational questions concerning the text of the Book of Jeremiah in her “Evidence for the Dating of the Masoretic Text of Jeremiah”. Fried argues that in the closing words of Chronicles and the opening words of Ezra – almost identical – the prophet Jeremiah on behalf of God had predicted the advent of Cyrus, the return of Judeans to Judah and the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem after a 70-year-long Sabbath for the land (2 Chron 36:21). The Book of Jeremiah has had a long redaction history and scholars have concluded that the shorter LXX text is an earlier and more original edition of the book. The original thesis of this article is, however, that the opening chapters of Ezra were based on the second temple’s actual building inscription written at the temple’s construction in 516 BCE. The reference to 70 years in Jeremiah (Jer 25:11; 29:10) and in Chronicles is not in Ezra and is not in the LXX of Jeremiah. The implication is that the MT version of Jeremiah was written after the return, and after the completion of the second temple in 516, and after the composition of Ezra.

These five essays combine to lead readers to a deeper understanding of both the text and historical presuppositions of the Book of Jeremiah. They address issues not yet solved but which take scholarship forward in its attempt to find solutions to core questions about Jeremiah and his book. However, one thing seems sure: that the usual idea of a prophet of the name of Jeremiah running around in Jerusalem in the years preceding the Babylonian conquest and dictating his prophecies to his scribe Baruch seems to belong to the fairy kingdom of traditional biblical scholarship. In the next part of the volume, our essayists broaden their sights to ask wider questions about Jeremiah’s abiding influence and significance.

Part II: Jeremiah in Tradition commences in Chapter 6 where we find Melvin Sensenig’s remarkably engaging and reception-historical “Jeremiah, Jehoiachin and ‘The Branch’: King Jehoiachin in Jeremianic Interpretive Tradition”.

Sensenig addresses a *crux interpretum* in the following way: four oracles appear in Jeremiah 21:11–23:8 directed against the final kings in Judah. The final oracle against Jehoiachin precedes the announcement of the new Davidide. The oracle invokes no stipulations of covenant wrongdoing, a feature of Deuteronomistic criticism of the kingship since Solomon. Jehoiachin is an unremarkable king in Israelite history. Yet, he is the concluding figure in both LXX and MT versions of Jeremiah's King Collection, a significant change from the accounts in Kings and Chronicles. He occupies an important place in Josephus's attempts to sketch the ideal Israelite king, respectful of imperial rule. He is important to the rabbis in developing an atonement theory of the exile. In the New Testament, he appears in Matthew's genealogy of Jesus, while the other kings from the King Collection disappear. Understanding the oracle's function helps us bridge the gap between Jehoiachin's historical account and his reception in later traditions. In this way we again see how the collectors of the prophecies in the Book of Jeremiah wrestled with their creation of the prophet of Jeremiah as the link to past Jewish history trying to reconcile the harsh facts of ancient 'Jewish' history with later expectations.

Chapter 7 finds us back in the study of Niels Peter Lemche where this time he proposes a solution to the mystery of the missing temple in his essay, "The Mystery of the Missing Temple: The Tradition about the Destruction of Shiloh in Jeremiah 7:12–14". The problem is that the temple has showed to be elusive to archaeologists: they have not so far found any trace of it. However, the missing temple makes perfect sense in a narrative context. Thus the reference to the fate of the temple in Shiloh in Jeremiah is an intertextual reference to the story of Eli's sons in 1 Samuel. It has to be mentioned that this article originally appeared in Danish in a festschrift for Magnus Ottosson in 1989. It thus could be termed 'pre-minimalist' but also a harbinger of a kind of scholarship being much more independent of the *assumed* historicity of a biblical text!

Seldom widely discussed or even considered in much of the scholarly literature until of late is the interconnection of Jeremiah and wisdom literature. The eighth chapter, "Calling-Not-Answering and Internalisation of Torah in Proverbs 1–9: Jeremiah and Israelite Wisdom Literature" by JiSeong James Kwon of the University of Zurich is therefore very helpful and even groundbreaking. James suggests that the intersection of Proverbs 1–9 with the Book of Jeremiah has been at the centre of scholarly attention ever since the literary influence between biblical prophetic literature and Jewish wisdom writings has been investigated. Rather than assuming the direct dependence between two literary units, this study proposes theological connotations that could tell the association between Jeremiah's text and Proverbs 1–9. First, from the relevance between Prov 1:20–33 and Jer 7:1–28 (esp. vv. 23–28) the shared motif of 'calling-not-answering' is discussed. Second, it is argued that the notion of the new covenant in Jer 31:31–34 corresponds with instructions in Prov 2:1–22 that when wisdom-seekers receive divine instruction by heart, they can instinctively practice תורה and can understand the fear of Yahweh. The conception of wisdom and instruction in Prov 1:20–2:1–11 and the inscribed תורה in Jer 7:1–28 and 31:33–34 most likely reflects the emergence of the new covenant promising the endowment of "the new heart" and "new spirit" in prophetic literature.

In a way we can say that so far all articles deal with issues of intertextuality rather than history. Few are the references to events in the ancient world of Israel and Judah. The discussion is between texts. Therefore it is hardly coincidental that another intertextual connection is drawn in James M. Bos's "The Memory of Micah's Oracle in Jeremiah 26, or, Isaiah Forgotten". Here too scholarship moves forward in terms of its understanding of Jeremiah and its understanding of the process of the growth of biblical texts. According to Bos, in Jeremiah 26, Jeremiah's life is presented as at risk due to his having prophesied doom for the city of Jerusalem and the temple therein. His life is preserved, however, after the elders of the land remember a doom oracle of Micah during the time of Hezekiah, for which Micah was not executed and which thus serves as precedent in the case of Jeremiah. The article explores the absence of Isaiah and Zephaniah from this narrative and proposes that the written corpora attributed to these two prophets were not (yet) doom oriented in the sixth century BCE.

In the penultimate chapter, Susannah Larry helps us take a wider view of the Jeremiah material and focuses on the material found in Lamentations in her "Jeremiah as Eraser: The History of Consequences of Daughter Zion and the Prophet". Here she examines from a feminist hermeneutic the voice of the Daughter of Zion. Remarking thusly her study begins: "The interaction of voices within Lamentations has become an increasingly important part of Lamentations scholarship". The article demonstrates how Jeremiah assumed the primary speaking role in Lamentations' history of consequences, minimizing the role of the female speaker, Daughter Zion. After a survey of reception methodology, the essay contrasts the prominence of Daughter Zion within the Hebrew Lamentations with the absence of her voice in later receptions, beginning with the Old Greek translation of Lamentations. Then, the implications of Jeremiah's prominence in place of Daughter Zion's are considered for both Judaism and Christianity. Overall, interpreters' placement of Jeremiah in the forefront of Lamentations superimposes an orthodox perspective on the causal connection between sin and suffering and erases the emotionally potent protest of Daughter Zion. It is fair to say that Larry's essay is a light in the darkness of the complex cave we know as Lamentations.

Our collection draws to a conclusion with Deane Galbraith's "Jeremiah Never Saw That Coming: How Jesus Miscalculated the End Times". This essay reaches the furthest afield scope-wise when he examines in detail how Jeremiah's text was received and understood in a fragment of the Gospels. More precisely, this essay utilizes in Galbraith's words "a Gadamerian orientation to the study of the apocalyptic teachings of Jesus [which] combines critical self-consciousness with historical consciousness". Adopting this critical orientation, the chapter examines two bases for concluding that Jesus calculated and employed a timetable for the end times. The first may be found in the Mt. of Olives discourse in Mark 13:3–37, particularly in the way Jesus there employs the 70-year prophecy in Jeremiah 25 and 29, as reinterpreted in the Book of Daniel. A comparison of the discourse with some 12 pre-100 CE Jewish texts that also reinterpret Jeremiah's or Daniel's 70 years demonstrates the nature and intensity of their interest in end-times calculations, and provides an instructive empirical basis for reconstructing how Jesus

interpreted Daniel's prophecy as applying to his own generation. The second basis for reconstructing Jesus's end-times timetable occurs in the synagogue proclamation at Nazareth, in Luke 4:16–30. The synagogue proclamation preserves a key part of Jesus's calculation that he was living in the final week-year of Daniel's 70 week-years.

In conclusion we may say that the Book of Jeremiah is a mystery wrapped in an enigma. But certain trends are recognizable. First of all, the historical referent plays a reduced role. Not much in this collection is about 'what really happened' in history. The historical Jeremiah is almost absent and is definitely not the main subject of the collection. The interaction between the Book of Jeremiah and other literature in the Bible – including the New Testament – is much more in focus. This approach seems far more promising and it is evident from the chapters included here that the discussion is far from over. If this collection has contributed to unwrapping the mystery of the composition of not only the Book of Jeremiah but prophetic literature in general, it has fulfilled its aim.

A word concerning abbreviations is in order. When used, these follow the Second Edition of the *SBL Handbook of Style* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2014), the standard technical handbook for Biblical Studies publications. The editors would like to thank our series general editors, Ingrid Hjelm and Emanuel Pfoh for their masterful guidance. Finally, a word of thanks is also due to the very fine staff of Routledge, Amy Davis-Poynter, Elizabeth Risch and Tara Grover Smith for their superb efforts in bringing this work to the public.

Jim West
Niels Peter Lemche

Part I

Jeremiah in history



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1 The Book of Jeremiah's redaction history in light of its oldest manuscripts

Michael Langlois

The Book of Jeremiah has a complex redaction history. Few books in the Hebrew Bible exist in recensions that preserve such profound transformations.¹ When several recensions coexist, questions arise as to their relationship: is there a direct filiation? If so, which recension gave rise to the other? When? For what purpose? Why did the earlier recension survive? If there is no direct filiation, how may their kinship be qualified? How far back in time should one go to find their common ancestors?

Alas, those fascinating questions are often addressed on the sole basis of late textual witnesses, as earlier manuscript evidence is simply lacking. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, has brought forth a wealth of ancient parchments and papyri which feature, among others, the oldest 'biblical' manuscripts.² Some of these scrolls date to the third and, perhaps, fourth or fifth centuries BCE (Langlois forthcoming), which brings us much closer to – and, I would say, within – the time frame of the Hebrew Bible's redaction.

What about the Book of Jeremiah? How old are its earliest manuscripts? To which recensions do they belong? What can they tell us about this book's redaction history? These are the questions addressed by the present essay. We will have a look at each of the ten alleged Dead Sea Scrolls of Jeremiah in order to assess their dates and recensions. This data will then be analyzed and synthesized in order to arrive at a conclusion regarding the Book of Jeremiah's redaction history.

2Q13 (2QJer)

Qumran cave 2Q was allegedly discovered in February 1952 by Bedouins who brought their findings to the antiquity dealer William Kando. William L. Reed and Roland de Vaux conducted excavations in March 1952, but the cave had been emptied of its precious scrolls, except for two small fragments (de Vaux 1962).³ The traditional ascription of scrolls to Qumran cave 2Q is thus uncertain but probable. Among them is a manuscript of Jeremiah labelled 2Q13 and published by Maurice Baillet in 1962.

The scroll does not bear a colophon or a date; it was not found in a clear stratigraphical context; it was not tested for radiocarbon dating. Palaeographical analysis may, however, provide a time frame.

Palaeographical analysis

2Q13 was copied by a professional scribe using a formal script; the ductus is regular, assured, and refined. Let us have a look at each letter of the alphabet.

The left leg of **א** joins the diagonal at its top, creating a chevron probably traced without lifting the calamus. This ductus develops during the first century BCE. The right leg features ornamentation. **ב** features a straight base, very wide, protruding to the left and slightly to the right; the roof is straight, narrow, slightly pointed to the left but without ornamentation.

The shaft of **ג** is concave, pinched in the middle, from which starts a flat leg, almost horizontal; this trend develops in the first century BCE. The shaft is devoid of ornamentation, as opposed to more developed typologies.

ד has a square caliber, with a leg that prolongs the traverse without lifting the calamus thanks to a looped shoulder. This ductus develops in Herodian times. **ה** has a thick traverse, protruding and bevelled to the left. **ו** is narrow, straight, and its head barely marked.

ז features a horizontal traverse that joins the right leg below its top through a looped shoulder. **ח** has a straight, horizontal, and wide base, followed by a large angular hook. This ductus, which develops during the first century BCE, is attested here in its fullest development. The left shaft is ornamented at its top, which indicates further development.

Contrary to **י**, **כ** has a well-marked head in the shape of a triangle pointing leftward. Medial **כ** features a head that's usually narrower than that of **ב**, and its base does not protrude to the right, so the two letters are quite distinct. Final **ך** exhibits a large and thick traverse followed by an angular looped shoulder on top of a short, slightly concave descender. This ductus develops in Herodian times.

ל is angular, with a traverse of varying width and a hook reaching all the way back to the edge. Medial **ל** is likewise angular, with a protruding left arm that's as wide – if not more – than the base. The horn is penned as a single stroke, bent at the bottom to form or join the traverse. This ductus develops during the Herodian era, but ornamentations that characterize the most developed shapes are absent. Final **ל** is taller but barely wider than medial **ל**, which results from caliber homogenization taking place during the Hasmonean era. The traverse barely protrudes to the left, and tends to be lifted on the right to create an angular or pointed shoulder, which is indicative of a more developed typology.

Medial **מ** follows a simple, angular ductus, with a shaft that's slightly thickened rightward at the top but does not exhibit ornamentation characteristic of the most developed shapes. Final **מ** is quite short, concave, with a thickened head and refined descender. This shape is attested as early as the Hasmonean era. **נ** has a closed, rounded and regular belly, following a ductus that develops in Herodian times.

The diagonal of **ס** is preceded by an angular elbow supporting a short right arm, rarely developed. The left arm, on the contrary, is more often ornamented so as to create a triangle pointing leftwards. This is an unusual development, probably from the Herodian era. The shaft and base of medial **ס** are straight;

its head is pointed and bent inwards on the left, but is not as large as the latest Herodian shapes.

Medial z features a straight shaft, slightly slanted, and bent leftward at the bottom in order to produce a protruding straight base. Its right arm is wide, only slightly slanted, and ornamented at its right end. p has a rather short descender, detached from the traverse, which is ornamented at the left so as to produce a spike. Its hook is angular, slightly slanted, and wide, but does not join the descender.

r is square and exhibits a triangular head at the left end of the traverse. w is angular, with a shaft that's slightly slanted forward and headed by a hook indicative of a developed shape. The upper diagonal is short and joins the shaft almost at its top; it is sometimes slightly bent to produce an ornamentation. The lower diagonal is wide and bent so as to produce a small vertical spike. n is slightly slanted forward, with a slightly raised but rounded shoulder. The left leg protrudes to the top, while its bottom is rounded or bent leftward so as to produce a foot of varying width.

To sum up, the ductus matches the Herodian period quite well. Some developments might even suggest a date towards the end of this era, without reaching the level of sophistication attested by the most developed scripts. This scroll may thus have been copied around the first half of the first century CE.⁴ A margin of uncertainty remains, and as indicated by the use of the preposition "around" a date in the late first century BCE is possible, as is a date in the second half of the first century CE.

Textual kinship

Let us now turn to this manuscript's text type and textual kinship. I will limit myself to variant readings that may reflect redactional phases, leaving aside orthographical variants, textual accidents, and other minor variant readings. The following list (like the ones that will be compiled below for other Jeremiah scrolls) is thus shorter than others found elsewhere in scholarly literature, as this essay focuses on redaction criticism, not textual criticism. Indeed, it is important to bear in mind that an occasional agreement between two witnesses does not mean that they belong to the same recension; for instance, confusions of r and r are frequent and may be shared by witnesses of varying recensions. Failure to distinguish between various types of variant readings may therefore lead to a wrong characterization of a manuscript's kinship.

In Jer 42:9, 2Q13 has the longer text preserved by M^5 rather than the shorter text attested by G^6 (Jer 49:9). But in Jer 43:9, it could be closer to the shorter text of G (Jer 50:9) rather than the longer text of M . Things get more complicated in Jer 44:3, where this manuscript could have a text even longer than M , itself longer than G (Jer 51:3).

Likewise, in Jer 44:12, this scroll has the long text of M rather than the short text of G (Jer 51:12); but in Jer 44:13 it seems to have a shorter text than the recension attested by both M and G (Jer 51:13).

On frag. 8, Jeremiah 47 follows Jeremiah 46 (l. 4–5), as in M , whereas those two chapters are not side by side in G (Jeremiah 26 then 29). I insist on the fact

that this order is evidenced on a single physical unit (frag. 8), because Dead Sea Scrolls editors have usually numbered fragments according to the order in which they thought the text should run, being often influenced by a particular recension (M or G for instance). This could easily lead to circular reasoning, hence the need to check for evidence on a single physical unit (Langlois 2014: 47, 50).

In Jer 47:4, the manuscript probably has a longer text than M, itself longer than G; likewise, in Jer 48:25, it has the expression יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ attested by M but absent from G (Jer 31:25). The same phenomenon occurs in Jer 48:30 (G Jer 31:30) and Jer 48:44 (G Jer 31:44).

To sum up, 2Q13 is generally closer to M than to G. In particular, it seems to have the same structure, grouping the Oracles against the Nations at the end of the book. It also features the recurring expression יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ and a few other pluses of M compared to G. The few cases where 2Q13 has the shorter text of G against M may give the impression that it stands in direct filiation between G and M, but note that it sometimes has a longer or shorter text than both of them. It is thus more appropriate to view 2Q13 and M as sharing a common, relatively close, ancestor.⁷

4Q70 (4QJer^a)

This scroll is said to come from Qumran cave 4Q, though a vast majority of this cave's fragments were actually discovered by Bedouins and sold through Kando between 1952 and 1958 (de Vaux 1977).⁸ The earliest photographs of 4Q70 were taken in June 1954⁹ while the edition was later entrusted by Frank Moore Cross and Eugene Ulrich to Emanuel Tov (Tov 1997).

Palaeographical analysis

This scroll was copied by a skilled scribe with a consistent and fluid script, though the copy itself exhibits numerous corrections. The ductus is a direct heir of the Aramaic cursive from the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods, with a notable evolution towards harmonization of letter caliber.

⌘ features a thick diagonal preceded by a thin, slightly concave arm and followed by a thin, slightly convex leg. The latter is usually penned below the top of the diagonal, sometimes at its top, but not with it. ⌚ has a narrow and concave head, thus shaping two small spikes. It is followed by a straight shaft, slightly slanted, thick at the top and thin at the bottom, where it continues as a more or less rounded elbow followed by a straight horizontal base, wide and protruding to the left.

⌛ has a simple ductus, with a straight head slightly slanted in order to join the shaft below the top. The latter is sometimes slightly concave but more often straight. ⌜ has two parallel vertical legs, as opposed to the ductus common at the Achaemenid period. Likewise, the traverse is horizontal and no longer slanted. ⌝ has a narrow head, horizontal and thick, followed by a vertical shaft refined at the bottom, where it is sometimes slightly concave.

ן is particularly wide, with two distant legs connected by a horizontal traverse located under the top of the left leg and pointed at the right so as to join the right leg below its top. ף tends to rotate compared to the Achaemenid ductus; its body is less full, despite the use of a bevelled calamus. In final position, one finds sometimes a wider and more rounded ף reminiscent of inscriptions from the third or second centuries BCE found for instance in Maresha. ץ has a straight and slanted head, followed by a concave and tall shaft turning through a rounded elbow into a less wide base. In final position, ף exhibits a rather tall descender, slightly concave, refined at the bottom.

כּ is of highly variable width, with a rather short ascender and an angular elbow that's usually narrower than the traverse, unless the latter is itself narrow. In final position, כּ has a very wide traverse and an embryonic hook, which is a classical ductus from the Achaemenid period. The existence of a distinct final form for כּ seems to have disappeared by the Hasmonean period.

ח is quite tall and features a wide base preceded by a right-angled elbow, which is indicative of an evolution of the ductus from the Achaemenid period. In final position, ח is not really taller but exhibits a closed shape; this evolution takes place during the Hellenistic period and is well attested at the turn of the second century BCE, for instance in Maresha.

ט is penned according to a classical ductus, with a slightly slanted shaft followed by a rounded elbow and a horizontal base. ט has a wide open belly, as opposed to later shapes which have a smaller caliber and closed belly. Note, however, the presence of a wide horizontal base, which suggests further development from the shapes of the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods. The ductus of ץ has likewise evolved from Achaemenid times, as it features a long straight diagonal and a straight oblique left arm.

ז has a pointed head followed by a slightly convex shaft. After an angular elbow comes a slightly oblique and sometimes concave base. ז is wide and composed of a convex shaft followed by a rounded elbow, a wide slightly slanted base, and a concave descender. This ductus is inherited from the Imperial Aramaic cursive with further development, but does not yet introduce a medial form. It is thus at home sometime between the Hellenistic and Hasmonaean periods.

ח has a closed triangular shape, without descender. The use of a descender is already attested in the Achaemenid period, but there are forms without descender (or with an embryonic descender only) until the beginning of the second century BCE. The closed shape, however, is quite unusual, though attested in various Aramaic documents from the fourth century BCE; it could be a development independent of, and parallel to, that of the descender.

ט is similar to ח, though its head is often slightly narrower. ט has a reduced caliber and follows a classical ductus, without real evolution compared to the Imperial Aramaic cursive. ט is wide; its left leg has a wide foot which makes it shorter than the right leg. This is a clear evolution compared to the ductus of the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods, but it is not yet the caliber that will become standard during the Hasmonaean period.

To sum up, most of the forms result from an evolution that can hardly be prior to the third century BCE. Some of the further developments favour the second half

of that century or even, perhaps, the very early second century BCE.¹⁰ 4Q70 is thus one of the earliest attested uses of the Aramaic script to copy a Hebrew text.¹¹

Textual kinship

The text of 4Q70 is very fragmentary and its lines have been heavily reconstructed in the *editio princeps*. I will therefore limit myself to variant readings that are actually attested in the manuscript; this is not to say that lacunae cannot be used to assess kinship, but this is a longer process which requires testing multiple hypothetical reconstructions¹² and is thus beyond the scope of the present essay, unless the analysis of intact variant readings should prove inconclusive.

In Jer 8:3, 4Q70 has the expression נָאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת attested in ℳ but absent from ℣; however, this verse and its predecessors were added later, in the margins, by another scribe. The hand is slightly different but, based on the limited evidence – not all letters are attested and their shape has to cope with the cramped space – its script can broadly be ascribed to the same period. Tov notes that the “addition was made by a scribe other than the main scribe of the scroll” (Tov 1997: 152), while Ulrich goes further and states that the “insertion is in a Hasmonaean script (ca. 100–50 BCE), so roughly a century later than the original manuscript” (Ulrich 2008: 495). Ulrich’s dating in the first century BCE is too late: none of the main Hasmonaean developments may be observed – except, perhaps, a tendency to homogenize the caliber, but this may be due to the cramped space left for the addition. A larger sample of the script would be necessary to carry out a fuller analysis, but this hand can hardly be later than the first half of the second century BCE.

Tov further believes that this addition is a mere correction due to an accidental omission by the scribe, but the length of the omission weakens such a hypothesis; this addition is better explained as an editorial addition, and we will come back to this problem in due course.

In Jer 8:8, the scroll seems to have the longer text preserved by ℳ rather than the shorter text attested by ℣. Likewise, the long plus of ℳ in Jer 8:10–12 is attested here, whereas these verses are absent from ℣. At the beginning of Jer 9:12, the manuscript has the shorter text of ℳ without the plus of ℣. At the end of the verse, it has the long text of ℳ rather than the short text of ℣. Jer 10:10 is attested here and in ℳ, but absent from ℣; the plus of ℳ at the beginning of Jer 10:13 is present here, against ℣.

In Jer 12:3, 4Q70 once again testifies to the long text of ℳ against the short version of ℣. In Jer 12:17, the manuscript has the final נָאֻם יְהוָה present in ℳ but not in ℣. In Jer 13:1, the manuscript has the small plus of ℳ as opposed to ℣. The same phenomenon is found in Jer 13:3, and then again in Jer 13:4.

In Jer 17:12, the manuscript has the long text of ℳ against ℣. In Jer 22:11, it has the plus of ℳ against ℣. Likewise in Jer 22:16.

This survey is very clear: in the variant readings listed above, 4Q70 is always in agreement with ℳ against ℣. The scroll further exhibits a few variant readings of its own and numerous corrections, which are usually not the product of editorial

work (except for the aforementioned major addition) but the simple rectification of scribal errors.¹³

4Q71 (4QJer^b)

This manuscript is known from a single fragment which is said to come from Qumran cave 4Q. It first appeared on a photograph taken in June 1954¹⁴ and was officially published by Tov in 1997.

Palaeographical analysis

4Q71 was copied by a skilled scribe demonstrating confidence and regularity. The calamus does not seem bevelled and the strokes are of an even thickness. Palaeographical analysis is limited by the size of this manuscript, preserved by a single fragment.

The left leg of $\aleph$ is not drawn together with the diagonal, which it joins below its top, sometimes at mid-height, rarely at the top as can be seen on later scrolls from Herodian times. $\beth$ adopts a rather square caliber, with a wide concave head, a vertical shaft, and a horizontal base drawn after an angular elbow. The base protrudes to the left, but barely to the right, as opposed to the ductus that develops in the Herodian era.

λ has a slightly slanted shaft and an almost horizontal left leg that joins it below its top or at mid-height. The tendency to lower the joint and to raise the leg fits well the evolution that takes place between the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods.

γ has a concave head, with a spike at its left end and a raised rounded shoulder at its right end. The shaft is straight and vertical. π features a wide protruding traverse, slightly slanted downward to the right so as to join the right leg below its top. The latter is straight, slightly slanted, whereas the left leg is slanted in the oppose direction and is usually somewhat shorter.

ι is narrow, straight or rarely concave, with a small hooked head that tends to disappear when the scribe does not take time to draw it fully. υ also features a hooked head, contrary to the older ductus, but it is much better marked than that of ι . Moreover, υ is usually shorter, though it sometimes tends to lengthen. This phenomenon takes place during the first century BCE and results to the confusion of ι and υ in certain scripts, which is not the case here.

ζ seems to have a narrow head and a wide, straight, and protruding base. In final position, its head is wider and followed by a tall convex descender, according of a more conservative ductus. η is rather narrow, with a long ascender sometimes headed by a spike; if this ornament is added on purpose, it reveals a development that's more important than the one usually observed in Hasmonaean times.

θ follows a square ductus, with an angular elbow and a straight base, rarely convex. The head is concave and features an arm drawn afterwards, contrary to the popular Herodian ductus. In final position, θ is of variable height, sometimes keeping a traditional and impressive caliber, other times adopting a more reduced caliber.

Final $\daleth$ has a well-marked head and a rather short descender that's straight or slightly concave. $\mathfrak{v}$ is narrow, with a straight diagonal upon which rests a slightly slanted arm. No development of a right elbow has been observed here, as opposed to the tendency in the Herodian period. $\mathfrak{d}$ has a small hooked head followed by a straight shaft, not or barely slanted. Then comes a barely rounded elbow and a wide, straight, horizontal base.

Final $\mathfrak{r}$ features a concave descender preceded by an arm that's also concave but apparently not angled and devoid of Herodian developments. $\mathfrak{p}$ has a wide traverse curved upward to the left, slanted upward to the right, and prolonged by an angular hook that's rather long. The descender, by comparison, is rather short; it is drawn to the right of the end of the traverse, thus making it protrude.

$\mathfrak{i}$ is similar to $\mathfrak{t}$, so that the two are easily confused. $\mathfrak{w}$ adopts a classical ductus, without ornamentations popular in Herodian times. $\mathfrak{n}$ is quite tall, with two legs of equal height; though the right leg is sometimes slightly taller.

To sum up, most of the forms attested on this single fragment are common in the first century BCE. A few additional developments suggest that this manuscript may have been copied around the middle of the century. Note that according to Tov, "this fragment is dated to the first half of the second century BCE" (Tov 1997a).¹⁵ Elsewhere he states that this date was suggested by Ada Yardeni in a personal communication (Tov 1989: 197; 1992: 533), but it is too early and I wonder whether this is a simple misunderstanding; in any case, his date is way too early and must be moved by a century.¹⁶

Textual kinship

The limited size of this single fragment precludes a precise description of its text type. As stated above, I will leave aside variant readings which may not be indicative of the manuscript's recension, including minor agreements with $\mathfrak{G}$ or $\mathfrak{M}$.¹⁷ The only variant reading relevant to our study is the seeming absence of Jer 10:6–8.10, in agreement with the short recension represented by $\mathfrak{G}$ against the long recension represented by $\mathfrak{M}$. There may have been other places where 4Q71 was closer to the long recension, and it may also have featured developments of its own. For now, the only evidence at our disposal indicates a closer relationship to the shorter recension.¹⁸

4Q72 (4QJer^c)

4Q72 allegedly comes from Qumran cave 4Q. Its numerous fragments appear on photographs taken from May 1953 onward.¹⁹ The official publication was entrusted to Tov (Tov 1997b).

Palaeographical analysis

This manuscript was penned by a skilled and confident scribe writing quite fast, sometimes carelessly, and exhibiting cursive tendencies.

The left leg of $\aleph$ is usually convex, sometimes straight; it joins the diagonal at mid-height or slightly above, but not at its top, contrary to the tendency in Herodian times. The right arm is short and slightly concave. $\beth$ is wide, with a concave or even pointed head, a raised shoulder, and a base that protrudes to the left but not to the right, except in a few cases, following a trend that develops during the Herodian era.

η is square, angular, with a slightly slanted shaft and a horned head. π has a thick traverse, protruding and bevelled on the left, according to a ductus popular in the first century BCE, before the Herodian period. The head of γ is quite irregular, sometimes with a hook, other times with simple thickening at the top. τ exhibits similar thickening, but backwards.

π is quite narrow, with a thick traverse connecting two straight parallel legs. υ is wide, with a pointed base, two symmetric diagonals, and double elbow on the right. Though the hook is quite impressive, it has not flattened the right diagonal yet as can be observed in the Herodian period. σ is penned in a similar way as γ , with a hooked head, but its shaft is often a little shorter. The two letters may be confused, which is quite common at the end of the Hasmonaean era and at the beginning of the Herodian period.

ζ is of variable width, with a head usually shorter than the base; this differentiates it from $\beth$, though the two may sometimes be confused. In final position, γ exhibits a wide and flat head, slightly curved upwards to the left, and followed to the right by a straight vertical shaft. The traverse of $\beth$ is of variable width and tilt, rather straight and slightly slanted so as to produce a raised shoulder. The diagonal is sometimes almost vertical, more often oblique. The ascender is very tall, often thickened frontwards at the top.

η is of variable size and keeps a classical ductus, with a straight, horizontal base that does not protrude, and an arm of variable length. The new ductus that becomes popular in Herodian times has not yet been adopted here. In final position, $\beth$ is more impressive, with a rectangular closed belly and largely protruding traverse.

ζ features a classical ductus, with a head devoid of ornamentation or barely thickened. In final position, the head of γ is more marked, with a double curve or even an angular recess; these two shapes are well attested from before the Hasmonaean era and until the Herodian period. σ has a thick protruding traverse followed by a round belly connected to a straight shaft at its bottom. This closed shape develops throughout the first century BCE and becomes popular at the beginning of the Herodian period.

υ is tall, with a flattened diagonal bent at its right end, thus producing a right arm almost parallel to the left arm. This ductus seems to appear at the very end of the Hasmonaean era and spreads during Herodian times. σ has a small, triangular, solid head, followed by a slanted shaft, an angular elbow, and a straight horizontal base. $\aleph$ features a wide, straight traverse, barely slanted, bent at its end to shape a spike. The shaft is also slightly slanted or convex, and bent at the bottom to produce a leg.

π has a wide traverse, curved upwards at its left end, and curved downwards at its right end so as to produce an angular hook. The latter spreads to half of the letter

width and produces an open belly before the descender, which is recessed from the protruding head. This ductus is classical and remains until the Herodian period.

ⲓ follows a ductus close to that of ⲓ, with which it may easily be confused, though the shoulder of ⲓ is, in theory, less raised than that of ⲓ. ⲓ features a developed form, with a flattened diagonal bent at its right end; this ductus is rarely seen before the Herodian era. The left stroke slightly protrudes at the bottom, as is observed elsewhere in semi-cursive scripts from the first century BCE. ⲓ also occasionally adopts a cursive ductus, with a looped left leg, but this influence remains unusual; more often, it follows a classical ductus with a well-marked horizontal leg.

In conclusion, most of the forms suggest that 4Q72 was copied around the second half of the first century BCE, preferably towards the end of the century. The date arrived at here is thus close to “the latter part of the first century BCE” as proposed by Tov, who also refers to Cross’s dating “no earlier than the end of the first century B.C.” (Tov 1997b: 182). I would not exclude a slightly earlier period, however, as recent research (including unpublished radiocarbon dating) leads to moving back in time palaeographical features once thought to be Herodian.

Textual kinship

Here is a list of variant readings that are attested in the text preserved by this fragmentary scroll and that may help determine its text type. In Jer 9:2, the manuscript seems to have the final expression יהי־אֵם, attested by **M** but not by **G**; in Jer 20:4, 4Q72 does not have the plus of **G**, just like **M**. In Jer 22:25, the scroll has the plus of **M** against the shorter text of **G**; likewise in Jer 22:28.

In Jer 25:26, the manuscript seems to have the long final of $\mathfrak{M}$ absent from $\mathfrak{G}$ (in Jer 32:26). Before Jer 27:2, 4Q72 seems to have the end of Jer 27:1, which is absent from $\mathfrak{G}$ (in Jer 34:1) but present in $\mathfrak{M}$. Likewise, Jer 27:13–14 seem attested by 4Q72, in agreement with $\mathfrak{M}$, while they are absent from LXX (in Jer 34:13–14).

In Jer 30:19, the manuscript has the long final text of $\mathfrak{M}$ against the short text of $\mathfrak{G}$ (in Jer 37:19). Likewise, Jer 30:22 is attested by the scroll, in accordance with $\mathfrak{M}$, while it is absent from $\mathfrak{G}$ (in Jer 37:22). In Jer 31:8, 4Q72 has the two small pluses of $\mathfrak{M}$ compared to $\mathfrak{G}$ (in Jer 38:8). At the end of Jer 31:14, the manuscript has the expression אֶת־יְהוָה attested by $\mathfrak{M}$ but absent from $\mathfrak{G}$ (Jer 38:14). Jer 33:16–20 seem attested by the scroll, in agreement with $\mathfrak{M}$, while they are absent from $\mathfrak{G}$ (Jer 40:16–20).

In conclusion, 4Q72 is very close to $\mathfrak{M}$ (Thus already Tov 1997c: 184.). Despite a few variant readings of its own, which are usually insignificant, the filiation seems almost direct.²⁰

4Q72a (4QJer^d)

4Q72a consists of a single fragment that had initially been associated with 4Q71. The two fragments were later dissociated on palaeographical and codicological grounds and edited separately.²¹ Were the editors right?

Palaeographical analysis

The script of 4Q72a is almost identical to that of 4Q71, which explains why the two fragments had been associated. A few differences may, however, be observed. First, the script of 4Q72a is slightly larger than that of 4Q71, by 1 or 2 microns; this may sound insignificant but is quite noticeable when the two fragments are side by side.²² This difference is further accentuated on the palaeographical chart prepared by Yardeni (Tov 1989: 194, pl. II). It could, however, be due to the use of a thicker or worn calamus, for instance, and is therefore not sufficient to dissociate the two fragments. Accordingly, Cross and Naveh are of the opinion that these two fragments have been penned by the same hand, whereas Ada Yardeni and Émile Puech believe that they were copied by two different scribes (Tov 1989: 191).²³

Leaving aside the difference in size and thickness, what can be said about the ductus? A few letters indeed seem to adopt a slightly different ductus: the base of final ם protrudes in 4Q72a but not, or barely, in 4Q71; ץ features a more rounded ductus in 4Q72a; the belly of ף is open in 4Q71 and closed in 4Q72a; ן is more slanted and more rounded in 4Q72a, with a more pronounced foot.²⁴ These differences²⁵ could be due to the limited sample of each ductus on such small fragments; had entire columns been preserved, other forms may have been preserved that could confirm the proximity between the two hands. Moreover, these minute differences can, in great part, be accounted for by the use of a different calamus, or by the same calamus albeit worn, or by a slight evolution in the scribe's handwriting, or by a greater care in the copy of 4Q71. An alternative explanation would be that two scribes who studied together in the same school developed an almost identical handwriting; but such a scenario seems unnecessary: 4Q72a may basically have been copied by the same scribe – either at a different stage in his career or, more simply, as he was copying the same scroll and his hand or calamus became tired.

In terms of palaeographical dating, the two fragments have been copied within the same time frame; that is in the first century BCE. The attestation of some letters on 4Q72a that were absent from 4Q71 (especially ם, which is quite developed) confirms that the latter part of the Hasmonean period is to be preferred, hence a dating around the mid-first century BCE. The date mentioned by Tov, in the first half of the second century BCE on the basis of a personal communication by Yardeni (Tov 1989: 197; 1992: 533; Tov 1997c: 203), is once again off by a century.

Textual kinship

The variant readings attested on this single fragment may be too few to arrive at firm conclusions, but let us have a look at the evidence first. In Jer 43:4, the lacuna does not allow for the restitution of the patronym יהוה־נְבִיָּא attested by מ but absent from ט (Jer 50:4). Likewise in Jer 43:5, where the same patronym is absent from ט (Jer 50:5) – as it is from this fragment – but mentioned in מ. At the end of the same verse, the fragment seems to have the long text of מ against ט, but then

omits the long final of מ and perhaps even the shorter final of the ט. In Jer 43:6, 4Q72a omits the syntagm רב-טבחים and the patronym קנזשן, both attested in מ, but absent from ט (Jer 50:6). In Jer 43:9, the fragment seems to have the long text of מ against the short text of ט (Jer 50:9).

Overall, 4Q72a preserves a text that is rather close to the short recension attested by ט, with a few variant readings of its own or shared by מ.²⁶ Interestingly enough, such is also the case with 4Q71,²⁷ which means that the two fragments share more than palaeographical affinities. I conclude that the two fragments were most likely copied by the same scribe and may well belong to the same scroll. It is possible that, reaching the end of the scroll, the scribe's calamus was worn, or that he switched to another one, or that he became less careful. The difference in reconstructed column width (21–24 cm for 4Q71 compared to 12–14 cm for 4Q72a [Tov 1997a: 171]) is quite impressive, but not impossible, especially when the columns belong to different sheets or the border of a sheet, as is the case for both 4Q71 and 4Q72a.²⁸ It is, of course, possible that the same scribe copied another Jeremiah scroll, but the text type remained the same.

Acknowledging the textual affinities between the two fragments and the fact that their codicological differences can easily be explained, Tov concludes that “these two fragments of chapters 9–10 and 43 could have belonged to the same scroll, though written by two different scribes” (Tov 1989: 195). Can the two hands' striking resemblance still be a coincidence? Isn't it more likely that we have here the work of a single scribe, perhaps later in his career (which would easily explain the subtle differences in ductus) or, even more simply, later on while copying the same scroll (with a tired hand or calamus)?

4Q72b (4QJer^e)

4Q72b likewise consists of a single fragment initially associated with 4Q71. It was later dissociated and edited separately under a new siglum (Tov 1997d). The same question thus arises: were the editors right?

Palaeographical analysis

Despite the limited sample of letters preserved on this single fragment, the script is actually quite different from that of 4Q71 and 4Q72a: ט has a convex base; the legs of ה are more spaced; ל features an ascender slanted backwards, which is rather unusual; medial נ has a rounded elbow and a traverse that is much more curved upwards at its left end.

Tov believes that the script of 4Q72b is closer to 4Q72a than to 4Q71 (Tov 1997a: 171), alluding elsewhere to differences in size and elegance (Tov 1989: 193). These should not be confused with differences in ductus: environmental factors (medium, calamus, time, health . . .) lead to different shapes despite a similar ductus, or to identical shapes despite a different ductus. This is probably what led Tov to dissociate 4Q71 from both 4Q72a and 4Q72b; but the aforementioned differences in ductus show that 4Q72b stands apart from both 4Q71 and 4Q72a.²⁹ Moreover, the aforementioned

palaeographical differences point to a slightly earlier date, towards the turn of the first century BCE, though the limited sample precludes a more precise dating, so that an overlap with the time frame of 4Q71 and 4Q72a is entirely possible.

Textual kinship

Due to the small size of this single fragment, only two variant readings may be used to determine the textual kinship of 4Q72b. In Jer 50:4, the fragment has the expression הַיְהוָה־עִמָּנוּ attested by $\mathfrak{M}$ but absent from $\mathfrak{G}$ (Jer 27:4), and in Jer 50:5, the fragment has the short text of $\mathfrak{M}$, without the plus of $\mathfrak{G}$. The few verses on this fragment thus correspond to the recension attested by $\mathfrak{M}$ rather than that preserved by $\mathfrak{G}$.³⁰ In that respect, 4Q72b differs from both 4Q71 and 4Q72a, which were rather close to $\mathfrak{G}$. This confirms the palaeographical analysis, which concluded that 4Q72b should be dissociated from the group composed of 4Q71 and 4Q72a.

4Q72 frag. 21a

In 2007, Hanan and Esther Eshel published an alleged fragment of 4Q72 (4QJer^c) (Eshel and Eshel 2007).³¹ The few letters preserved in three lines of text were identified as corresponding to Jer 24:6–7, and the fragment was thus labelled “4Q72 frag. 21a”. It is now included as such in the “Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Manuscripts” database edited by Martin Abegg.³²

The publication does not include any photograph or drawing, but, on the basis of the fragment’s description and transcription by Hanan and Esther Eshel, I realized that this is actually the same fragment as DSS F.156, which will be discussed below. I was able to confirm this identification by examining a photograph of the fragment in the exhibition catalogue referred to by Eshel and Eshel.³³ As we shall see, this fragment probably doesn’t belong to 4Q72 and should not have been labelled “4Q72 frag. 21a”.

MS 4612/9 (DSS F.116, DSS F.Jer1)

This fragment was acquired in January 2009 by Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen from William Kando (Schøyen 2016: 30).³⁴ It was published in 2016 by Torleif Elgvin and Kipp Davis as “4Q(?)Jer” but, as we shall see, it is unlikely that this fragment should come from Qumran cave 4Q (Elgvin and Davis 2016: 217–21).

Palaeographical analysis

I already published a detailed palaeographical analysis of this fragment (Langlois 2016) and will therefore limit myself here to general observations and conclusions. The script is clumsy, hesitant, inconsistent, and irregular, with a mixture of forms from the Hasmonaeon and Herodian periods. As a matter of fact, the same clumsiness has been observed on several other fragments of the Schøyen collection, which led me to doubt their authenticity.

My doubts were confirmed when I examined fragments that had been written upon after the upper skin or papyrus layer had peeled off, or that had ink on top of the patina. Sometimes the letters were crammed in order to follow the edge of a fragment after it had been torn. I shared my suspicions with my colleagues and, after further investigation several manuscripts were removed from the volume and published as probable forgeries in a separate article (Davis et al. 2017: 189–228). This does not mean, however, that all those which remain in the volume are genuine. In the case of several fragments, the general editor considered that there was not enough hard evidence to prove forgery and thus decided to leave them in the volume.

In the case of MS 4612/9, there might indeed not be the kind of aforementioned physical inconsistencies; but since the script is strikingly similar to that of forged fragments, I conclude that it was penned by the same ‘scribe’ or ‘scribal school’ – that is, by the same forger or team of forgers.

Textual kinship

According to Elgvin and Davis, “the evidence tentatively shows that MS 4612/9 may be grouped with 4QJer^b,^d as a text related to the *Vorlage* of 6, although preserving independent features that indicate a thus far unattested shorter text” (Elgvin and Davis 2016: 221). But, as discussed above, I believe that this fragment is a modern forgery and should not be used to reconstruct the textual and redactional history of the Book of Jeremiah.³⁵

MOTB.SCR.003172 (DSS F.195, DSS F.Jer2)

This manuscript was purchased in May 2010 by Steve Green, an American collector, and published in 2016 together with other Dead Sea Scrolls in the Museum of the Bible (Tov, Davis, and Duke 2016). However, the script of these 13 fragments is strikingly similar to that of MS 4612/9 and other manuscripts in the Schøyen collection that I consider to be modern forgeries. I therefore conclude that MOTB.SCR.003172 and the 12 other fragments published in that volume are also forgeries.³⁶

The Museum of the Bible has recently announced that physical analysis of five of its fragments concluded that “the five fragments show characteristics inconsistent with ancient origin and therefore will no longer be displayed at the museum”.³⁷ MOTB.SCR.003172 is not among them, and physical testing might not reveal hard evidence of modern forgery; but, as mentioned above, it exhibits the same palaeographical irregularities and should therefore be considered a forgery as well.

For this reason, I will not discuss its textual kinship here.³⁸

DSS F.156 (DSS F.Jer3)

In 2010, James Charlesworth published an online preliminary edition of a fragment given by Michael Sharpe to the Foundation on Judaism and Christian Origins

in Pasadena, California (Charlesworth 2010).³⁹ He identified this manuscript as a Dead Sea Scroll of the Book of Jeremiah from Qumran. The three lines of this single fragment are said to correspond to Jer 48:29–31a.

In his report, James Charlesworth seems unaware of the publication, three years earlier in a Hebrew journal, of the same fragment.⁴⁰ The authors, Hanan and Esther Eshel, also identified it as a fragment of Jeremiah, but ascribed it to another passage, Jer 24:6–7. They even ascribed it to a known scroll of Jeremiah, 4Q72 (4QJer^c), and thus labelled it frag. 21a. Were they right?

Palaeographical analysis

There are only 11 letters or parts of letters preserved on this tiny fragment, but the script is rather crude and hesitant. It is quite different from that of 4Q72, which is penned by a confident scribe exhibiting a fluid script with cursive tendencies. It is therefore highly unlikely that this fragment should belong to 4Q72, as was suggested by Hanan and Esther Eshel. But that's not the only problem.

According to James Charlesworth, "there is ample reason to assume that this piece of leather and the ink is genuine and from Qumran".⁴¹ I believe, on the contrary, that caution is advised. Though there are only 11 letters, a few issues may be observed. Line 1, נ is clumsy and the copyist seems to have struggled to draw the head and the base;⁴² line 2, ט is too low, as though the copyist tried to fit the head at the edge of an already damaged fragment;⁴³ line 3, י and ח are hesitant.⁴⁴ I conclude that this fragment is probably a modern forgery. Its inclusion in a database such as Abegg's "Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Manuscripts" is thus highly problematic, especially as it is included as "4Q72 frag. 21a", which will not alert the user as to its suspicious origin and identification.

I also find it striking that both editions of this fragment ascribe it to the Book of Jeremiah, albeit to different passages. Not only is the fragment really small, but both attempts at ascribing it to a specific passage in the Book of Jeremiah are problematic. They both suppose decipherments and/or variant readings that seem imposed on the fragment, as though the editors really wanted the fragment to come from the Book of Jeremiah. And this happened not only once but twice, with the same fragment, in two supposedly independent editions. This cannot be a coincidence.⁴⁵

As with MS 4612/9 and MOTB.SCR.003172, I have decided not to discuss the textual kinship of this fragment.⁴⁶

General analysis

Having studied each of the ten alleged Dead Sea Scrolls of the Book of Jeremiah, let me point out a few observations.

1 In my opinion, there are only five manuscripts of Jeremiah, and not ten: four (MS 4612/9, MOTB.SCR.003172, and DSS F.156 published twice) are modern forgeries, and one (4Q72a) actually belongs to another scroll (4Q71). The Book of Jeremiah suddenly loses half of its scrolls, which is quite a hard fall in the polls.

This phenomenon is actually symptomatic of the sudden proliferation of forgeries in the last two decades. Unfortunately, a number of scholars have unknowingly incorporated forgeries in their work (see e.g. Lange 2018), to the point that the results of their research may have been corrupted. It is urgent that all possible forgeries be flagged as such in resources and databases.⁴⁷

With only five copies, Jeremiah is now closer to Ezekiel (seven manuscripts), far from the 12, Daniel or Enoch (a dozen scrolls each), and much farther from Isaiah (two dozen scrolls). Though the number of copies is not the sole indicator of a book's popularity or authority (see Langlois 2014), the paucity of manuscripts and their fragmentary state remain a hindrance for the study of redactional and textual history.

Positive evidence may, however, be used to confirm the existence of a passage or text type at a certain period. For instance, 4Q70 testifies to the existence of at least part of the Book of Jeremiah in the third (or very early second) century BCE, which is earlier than what has sometimes been suggested for its first redaction.⁴⁸

2 Of the five remaining scrolls, none preserves a recension that is independent from those attested by $\mathfrak{M}$ and $\mathfrak{G}$. There are, here and there, a few variant readings; but they are minimal and insufficient to postulate the existence of another recension. The most independent witness is 2Q13 (2QJer), yet its degree of independence is far from that of some Torah scrolls. It seems, therefore, that the redaction history of the Book of Jeremiah is less complex than that of the Pentateuch. This might be due to a limited interest in the Book of Jeremiah, with fewer redactors working on it, which would also explain the limited number of copies.

But let us be careful not to fall into circular reasoning: it is perhaps precisely because less copies were found that we get the impression of a less complex redaction history. The discovery of more manuscripts could perhaps reveal more textual families. Be that as it may, the evidence at hand shows that the known scrolls generally belong to the family of $\mathfrak{M}$ or $\mathfrak{G}$, not in between, and not to another family. It also strongly favours the proto-Masoretic recension, with four manuscripts against one for proto-Greek recension. These numbers should be used with caution, of course, as the manuscripts are too few and too fragmentary; but they do reveal the weight of the proto-Masoretic recension.

3 The scribes' editorial activity, as visible on the manuscripts themselves, is limited. 4Q70 (4QJer^a) is the only scroll that exhibits a large addition: in col. III, an entire section corresponding to Jer 7:30–8:3 has been added in the margins. Tov, the editor, believes that this addition is the mere correction of a *parablepsis*: "It appears that the sole reason for this omission was technical, a mere scribal error, probably with the eye of the copyist jumping from one open section to the next" (Tov 1997: 152).⁴⁹ But this so-called 'omission' is quite lengthy and represents the equivalent of a dozen lines. Skipping a word or a line is frequent; but jumping halfway through a column is hard to believe, even for a distracted scribe! Especially when, as in the present case, the 'omission' happens to be an independent section, which suggests a much more obvious explanation: the section was simply absent from the *Vorlage*.⁵⁰ Tov discards this hypothesis on the grounds that 4Q70 is elsewhere very close to $\mathfrak{M}$, as though the proto-Masoretic recension were a coherent unit without the possibility of inner redactional phases. This scenario

seems too simplistic, and we should not exclude the possibility that there may have been several stages that led to this recension as we know it.⁵¹

There is more. Another argument must be taken into account: the date of this manuscript. It is, by far, the oldest manuscript of the Book of Jeremiah, and may have been copied as early as the second half of the third century BCE. Its *Vorlage* cannot be later than the third century BCE and may even date to the fourth century BCE. Such an early period is perhaps not a coincidence, and makes it all the more possible that this section had not been incorporated yet – and perhaps not even composed yet. This ancient scroll may have been one of the few copies in circulation at the time and used by the redactors who, in Jerusalem or elsewhere, worked on the Book of Jeremiah. It is even tempting to view it as some kind of archetype or master copy used for the literary development of the book towards the proto-Masoretic recension; indeed, such a concept may be found in the Book of Jeremiah itself (especially in chapter 36) and might thus reflect the views and scribal practices of its redactors (see e.g. Schenker 2013: 22–3). This bold theory is made possible by the age and peculiar script of the manuscript, which stands apart from all other Dead Sea Scrolls.

On the other hand, the numerous ‘mistakes’ pointed out by Tov reflect badly on the scroll’s quality and the skills of its scribe; but a closer look at the corrections reveals that, in most cases, they reflect an evolution in the pronunciation, spelling, or edition, rather than the rectification of a careless scribe’s mistakes.⁵² There remain, however, several corrections that seem to rectify some negligence in the copy of the scroll. But they do not necessarily disqualify the scroll from being a master or working copy used by redactors for editorial revisions of the book; they could, on the contrary, confirm that this scroll was used for such work rather than mere reading.

In any case, the major marginal addition to col. III may be regarded as a witness of the Book of Jeremiah’s textual growth leading to the proto-Masoretic recension around the third century BCE. The fragmentary condition of 4Q70 precludes us, however, from knowing the extent of this recension at the time, especially regarding chapters that are not even attested in this scroll.

4 The short recension is attested by two fragments only – 4Q71 and 4Q72a – which were probably copied by the same scribe on the same scroll. They are indirect witnesses of $\mathfrak{G}$, but they also exhibit variant readings of their own, which complicates the dating of the proto-Greek recension, especially given the small size of these two fragments. It is noteworthy, however, that the short recension existed in Hebrew and cannot, therefore, be the mere result of a shortening of the long recension for stylistic purposes by the Greek translator.⁵³

As for the manuscript composed of 4Q71 and 4Q72a, it is better seen as a cousin of $\mathfrak{G}$ rather than as its direct ancestor. This position in the stemma is also confirmed by its dating in the first century BCE, and not in the early second century BCE as in Tov’s edition.

5 In the same period, the direct ancestor of $\mathfrak{M}$ seems well established with a witness such as 4Q72 (4QJer*), a scroll that preserves a large part of the Book of Jeremiah (chapters 4–33). This does not mean that the book’s redactional activity

is completed, or that the proto-Masoretic recension alone has survived: at the same moment, or shortly afterwards, a scroll is copied with variant readings of its own (2Q13, 2QJer). This manuscript is not a simple missing link between proto- $\mathfrak{G}$ and proto- $\mathfrak{M}$, but rather a cousin of proto- $\mathfrak{M}$ with its own developments. This witness shows that the redaction of the Book of Jeremiah was not linear or brutal, jumping from a short to a long recension or vice versa; redactional activity continued in parallel until, at least, the turn of the era.⁵⁴

This complex relationship between the two recensions is shown on Table 1.1. In conclusion, the Dead Sea Scrolls of Jeremiah challenge the priority of a recension over another:

- 1 On the one hand, the long recension at the origin of $\mathfrak{M}$, including its structure, seems quite advanced by the end of the third century BCE (at least for the chapters that are preserved) and might thus have existed prior to $\mathfrak{G}$. In other words, the short recension attested by $\mathfrak{G}$ is not necessarily older and might be due to an editorial reworking of a longer recension. I am not saying that this is the case; I am just pointing out that the limited manuscript evidence at our disposal leaves this door open.
- 2 However, the presence of Hebrew scrolls that preserve the shorter recension shows that, if it is secondary, it is not (or not always) merely due to stylistic reworking occasioned by the Greek translation.
- 3 Finally, some of the pluses in $\mathfrak{M}$ may on the contrary be later than $\mathfrak{G}$, as redactional activity seems to continue in Hebrew until (at least) the turn of the era.

Table 1.1 Chronological list of the earliest manuscripts of the Book of Jeremiah with their textual typology

Manuscript	Chapters	Date	Kinship	Notes
4Q70 (4QJer ^a)	Jer 7–22(26?)	2nd half of 3rd c. or early 2nd c. BCE	> $\mathfrak{M}$	• Minimal own variants • Numerous corrections • Editorial activity: addition of a section (Jer 7:30–8:3)
4Q72b (4QJer ^c)	Jer 50	Turn of 1st c. BCE	$\mathfrak{M}$?	• Single small fragment
4Q71 and 4Q72a (4QJer ^b and 4QJer ^d)	4Q71: Jer 9–10 4Q72a: Jer 43 ($\mathfrak{G}$ 50)	Mid 1st c. BCE	$\approx\mathfrak{G}$	• Tov: 1st half of 2nd c. BCE! • Short recension (verses absent), sometimes shorter than $\mathfrak{G}$ • Occasional agreement with $\mathfrak{M}$
4Q72 (4QJer ^e)	Jer 4–33	2nd half or late 1st c. BCE	$\mathfrak{M}$	• Minimal own variants
2Q13 (2QJer)	Jer 42–49	1st half of 1st c. CE	$\approx\mathfrak{M}$	• Own variants

Notes

- 1 For a survey, see Römer (2013: 400–11).
- 2 I use 'biblical' with quotations marks here because (1) this terminology is anachronistic and (2) the authoritative status of a given book at the time must not be taken for granted; see Michael Langlois (2014).
- 3 In this account, De Vaux does not identify the two fragments.
- 4 My dating agrees with that of Tigchelaar (2017), Lange (2018).
- 5 $\mathfrak{M}$ stands for the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, exemplified by the Leningrad Codex.
- 6 $\mathfrak{G}$ stands for the Old Greek version of Jeremiah, often exemplified by Codex Vaticanus.
- 7 Dominique Baillet thus ascribes 2Q13 "en gros" ('broadly') to the Masoretic recension; see Baillet 1962: 63. He is recently followed by Tigchelaar (2017: 301; Lange 2018: 281, 286).
- 8 According to De Vaux, about 1000 fragments were excavated by his team out of at least 15000 fragments from cave 4Q.
- 9 See PAM 41.140, available at www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-288370, and PAM 41.168, available at www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-288399.
- 10 The date proposed here is close to earlier assessments by Frank Moore Cross (ca. 200 BCE) and Ada Yardeni (late third or early second century BCE), except that I would not exclude a slightly earlier date in the third century BCE given the paucity of evidence from that period; see Cross (1998), Ada Yardeni (1990: 268).
- 11 Earlier manuscripts use the Hebrew script (also known as Old Hebrew or Palaeo-Hebrew); see Langlois (forthcoming).
- 12 See for instance the virtual reconstructions tested for 4Q47 frag. 17–22 in Langlois (2011).
- 13 My assessment thus agrees with that of Emanuel Tov, who considers this scroll to be "very close to the proto-Masoretic text"; see Tov (1997: 151). See also recently Lange (2018: 281).
- 14 PAM 41.146, available at www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-288376.
- 15 Tov is followed by Lange (2018: 289).
- 16 In the same discussion, Emanuel Tov also refers to Émile Puech's dating in "the Hasmonean period", which is correct albeit a bit vague; the later features mentioned above exclude the early Hasmonean period.
- 17 In that regard, the raw statistics provided by Lange ("4QJer^b reads five times with and six times against MT, four times with and seven times against LXX, and is non-aligned on two occasions") are useful for textual criticism but not for redaction criticism without qualitative analysis; see Lange (2018: 290).
- 18 My assessment is thus somewhat more careful than that of Tov, who considers 4Q71 to be "very similar to the text from which $\mathfrak{G}$ was translated"; see Tov (1997a: 172).
- 19 The earliest photographs are: PAM 40.579. Available at: www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278383; PAM 40.598. Available at: www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278402; PAM 40.602. Available at: www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278406; PAM 40.615. Available at: www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278419; PAM 40.963. Available at: www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-279109.
- 20 The qualification 'semi-masoretic' is ascribed to both 2Q13 and 4Q72 in Tigchelaar (2017: 301), Lange (2018: 281). But 4Q72 is much closer to $\mathfrak{M}$ than 2Q13.
- 21 Tov (1997c: 203–5, pl. XXXVII). This choice is supported by Lange (2018: 289).
- 22 See, for instance, PAM 43.078, available at www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284880.
- 23 According to Tov, Naveh "stressed that the discrepancies between them derived from the difference in time between the writing of chapters 9–10, 43 and 50 respectively".

This argument is in line with the above-mentioned possible use of a thicker or worn calamus. It would also explain the difference in ‘size of the letters’ pointed out by Ada Yardeni.

- 24 My observations are based on personal examination of photographs of the fragments, before consulting previous studies. A comparison with Ada Yardeni’s palaeographical chart reveals that the latter can be misleading; for instance, on her chart of 4Q72a ב seems to protrude to the right whereas it is not the case in many occurrences; ו on 4Q71 seems to exhibit a short and straight diagonal but the two occurrences are in reality partially damaged or covered. This is a common problem with palaeographical charts, and that’s why palaeographical analysis (comparative or not) must always be carried out directly and personally, without relying on another scholar’s palaeographical charts.
- 25 Emanuel Tov lists other differences, but they are not due to a difference in ductus – even in the case of כ, despite Puech’s opinion referred to by Tov (1989: 193).
- 26 According to Armin Lange, “4QJer^d was probably a non-aligned manuscript”; see Lange 2018: 281, 296, 300. But one should distinguish between major variant readings, which reveal a copy’s recension, and minor variant readings, which have little to do with a recension. And the list of major variant readings compiled above shows that 4QJer^d was much closer to the short recension. If I were to imitate Lange’s terminology, I would say that 4QJer^d is ‘semi-LXX’ *Vorlage*.
- 27 Emanuel Tov thus acknowledges that “the links between the contents of 4QJer^b and 4QJer^d are strong” and that they share a similar text type; see Tov (1997a: 172).
- 28 Such is the case, for instance, with 1QIs^a col. XLIX and LII, the latter being half as wide as the former. A picture is available at: <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/isaiah#65:4>. Emanuel Tov is aware of this (and other) instances, see e.g. Tov (1989: 193; 1992: 531).
- 29 Note that, when Emanuel Tov refers to Ada Yardeni’s dating of the fragments, her assessment concerns 4Q71 and 4Q72a ‘at least’, which may indicate that she noticed that the script of 4Q72b was quite different; see Tov (1989: 197; 1992: 533).
- 30 According to Tov, “the textual character cannot be analyzed because the fragment is too small”; I agree that the small size of this fragment precludes a precise study, but there are more variant readings here than in 4Q71, and they seem quite conclusive. 4Q72b is thus correctly said to be ‘like MT’ in Tigchelaar (2017: 301).
- 31 This is fragment #55 in Tigchelaar (2017a: 182).
- 32 At least until version 3.3, released in Fall 2018. See www.accordancebible.com/store/details/?pid=DSSB-C.
- 33 Noah (2005: 16). Cited in Eshel and Eshel (2007: 275, n. 14).
- 34 The purchase date was provided to me by Torleif Elgvin in a personal communication.
- 35 This manuscript is, unfortunately but expectedly, included in recent studies; see e.g. Tigchelaar (2017: 289), Lange (2018: 292–4).
- 36 I shared my conclusions with one of the editors, Kipp Davis, as soon as I saw the volume at the Brill booth during the 2016 SBL Annual Meeting. I stated them publicly a few months later; see Langlois (2017).
- 37 www.museumofthebible.org/press/press-releases/museum-of-the-bible-releases-research-findings-on-fragments-in-its-dead-sea-scrolls-collection. See also Langlois (2018), <https://theconversation.com/fake-scrolls-at-the-museum-of-the-bible-106012>.
- 38 This fragment’s text type is discussed in Lange (2018: 294–5).
- 39 This fragment has been given the inventory number DSS F.156 (F.Jer3) in Tigchelaar (2017a: 181, #26).
- 40 Eshel and Eshel (2007: 275–6). This fragment is thus listed twice (#26 and #55) in Tigchelaar (2017a: 181–2). In a recent publication, Eibert Tigchelaar was still not aware that this is the same fragment; see Tigchelaar (2017: 302).
- 41 James H. Charlesworth, “Announcing an Unknown Dead Sea Scroll: Jeremiah 48:29–31a”, May 1, 2010, <http://foundationjudaismchristianorigins.org/ftp/dead-sea-scrolls/>

- unpub/DSS-jeremiah.pdf (see note 61 in the middle of page 2 in the aforementioned PDF).
- 42 The clumsy script led Hanan and Esther Eshel to read it as a א ; see Eshel and Eshel (2007: 275).
 - 43 This low position led Hanan and Esther Eshel to read it as the base of a ב ; see Eshel and Eshel (2007: 275).
 - 44 The former is read ב by Eshel and Eshel (2007: 276).
 - 45 I have several scenarios in mind. One of them (somewhere between the most honourable and most evil ones) is that a collector asked an antiquities dealer for a Jeremiah scroll, which prompted a forger to produce this fragment and sell it as such; when shown to scholars, it was already labelled Jeremiah, which influenced them and led them to look for matching passages in Jeremiah.
 - 46 This fragment's text type is discussed in Lange (2018: 300–1). Armin Lange labels it “XJer?”.
 - 47 In the case of the Book of Jeremiah, the fragment published by Hanan and Esther Eshel as 4Q72 frag. 21a should be removed altogether from Martin Abegg's “Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Manuscripts” database.
 - 48 For instance around 140 BCE according to Schenker (1994: 282). But Schenker's hypothesis is based on Jer 30–31 and 33, which are not found in 4Q70. The mere existence of this manuscript does not therefore necessarily preclude a later redaction for the long recension as a whole, contra Tigchelaar (2017: 291, n. 8).
 - 49 This was already the explanation of Janzen (1973: 174). Cited in Lange (2018: 284). Lange adopts the same explanation.
 - 50 Thus Ulrich (2008: 506) concludes that “it seems preferable to consider Jer 7:30–8:3 a passage inserted into the text of Jeremiah subsequent to the formation of the text tradition which the scribe of 4QJer^a inherited and copied”.
 - 51 Tov's simplistic view is also seen in his assumptions regarding the short recension, as pointed out by Tigchelaar (2017: 290).
 - 52 For instance, what Tov reads as an erased ב in VII.1 3 is actually a א and may be interpreted as an epenthetic nun.
 - 53 I agree on this point with Tigchelaar (2017: 289). However, he mentions three ‘different manuscripts’ (4Q71, 4Q72a, and MS 4612/9) whereas, as we have seen, there is probably only one genuine manuscript in support of the short recension.
 - 54 Contra Tigchelaar (2017: 290–1). He states that the evidence “does not attest to ongoing literary growth of the text of the Book of Jeremiah after the early second century BCE” in reference to 4Q70 but, as we have seen, 2Q13 exhibits textual growth beyond the proto-Masoretic recension.

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2 Jeremiah, Plato and Socrates

Greek antecedents to the Book of Jeremiah

Russell Gmirkin

This article addresses the questions of the Book of Jeremiah's date, historicity and Greek influences, arguing that the present text was composed no earlier than ca. 270 BCE and contains little historical content contemporary with the events it narrates.

Preliminary comments on dating methodologies

Under the traditional Maximalist approach, the Book of Jeremiah was dated as early as possible and full credibility was granted to biblical claims of authorship. According to this model, the Book of Jeremiah was nearly contemporary with the historical figure of the prophet Jeremiah and put into writing by his faithful scribe Baruch in the years leading up and immediately subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem in ca. 586 BCE. This Maximalist scenario was criticized by Robert Carroll (1986) in his commentary on the Book of Jeremiah, a seminal work that saw evidence for extensive redaction that extended at a minimum well into the Persian era. Carroll's book showed a strong tendency to date this redaction process as early as possible, in line with many proponents of redaction criticism, whose assumptions lie close to traditional Maximalism while accommodating evidence of editorial activity.

A Minimalist treatment of the Book of Jeremiah would likely begin by pointing out that the first objective evidence for the existence of the Book of Jeremiah is the fragments of that book found at Qumran, dated by paleography to ca. 200 BCE (Cross 1961). Under Minimalism, as represented by the Copenhagen School of biblical criticism, this earliest certain date (or latest possible date) represents the proper starting point for a discussion of the date and historical value of Jeremiah. The latest possible date must be considered a possible candidate for the approximate actual date of composition, absent compelling evidence to the contrary.

I would identify my own methodological approach as post-Maximalist. I take neither the *terminus a quo* (Maximalism) nor the *terminus ante quem* (Minimalism) as a better starting point for determining a text's date of composition. Instead, in line with the dating methods employed in scholarship on Greek and Roman classics, I believe that the entire range of possible dates, from *terminus a quo* to *terminus ante quem*, should be fully considered. In some instances, this might lead

to a conclusion that the earliest possible date is the actual date of composition: the Book of Haggai comes to mind as an authentic ancient Near Eastern collection of temple oracles (with light additions by a late Deuteronomistic editor). See Parpola (1997) and Nissinen (2000a, 2004) on characteristics of Assyrian oracle collections, which closely conform with Haggai (although neither Parpola nor Nissinen noted this). In other instances, it is possible to demonstrate that the latest possible date of composition represents the actual date of composition, as in the case of the Pentateuch, composed at Alexandria in ca. 270 BCE at virtually the same time as the LXX translation (Gmirkin 2006). Yet even with biblical compositions of late Hellenistic era date, such as Genesis–Kings, I consider it important to identify and analyze older antecedent sources (Gmirkin 2006).

To date the Book of Jeremiah and its antecedent sources, one should thus consider the entire time span between a *terminus a quo* of ca. 587 BCE and *terminus ante quem* of ca. 200 BCE. As a result of my investigations into the Book of Jeremiah spanning the last decade, using the methods described above, I have concluded that this biblical text dates to ca. 270 BCE or shortly thereafter, drawing upon a variety of earlier literary sources including the writings of Plato (ca. 400–350 BCE), the Jewish or Samaritan ‘Oracles against the Nations’ (after ca. 325 BCE), Berossus (ca. 280 BCE), and of course the Pentateuch itself (ca. 270 BCE). In addition to these Jewish, Greek and Samaritan literary sources, the Book of Jeremiah appears to have drawn on oral tradition from Jewish scribal circles of ca. 270 BCE that preserved broad details about the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar. Identifying these various sources allows for a critical appraisal of Jeremiah’s worth as a historical witness to the events it narrates.

Plato, Jeremiah and the Deuteronomist

A key indicator of final date of composition is the Deuteronomist themes and language that permeate all parts of Jeremiah (with the exception of the Oracles against the Nations). Deuteronomistic language and ideas are pervasive in Jeremiah, appearing in Jeremiah’s historical narratives, prose sermons and poetic oracles. See Friedman (1987: 26–7, 122 where several direct quotes of Deuteronomy in Jeremiah were noted); Friedman (1995: 75–8). Friedman noted 45 occurrences of characteristic Deuteronomistic phrases in poetic passages besides those found throughout prose sections of Jeremiah. According to Weinfeld (1992: 27–32), the prose sermons in Jeremiah were authored in their entirety by the Deuteronomist. The Book of Jeremiah is considered the most thoroughly Deuteronomist biblical text outside the Book of Deuteronomy itself. The language of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah is so closely related that considerable controversy attaches to which was written earlier. Seminal articles in Perdue and Kovacs (1984) on the literary dependence of Jeremiah on Deuteronomy or vice versa included Cazelles (1984) and Hyatt (1984a, 1984b). Since both Deuteronomy and Jeremiah have been posited to have a lengthy redactional history, a variety of explanations have been proposed for the numerous instances of intertextuality, including the possession of a hypothetical copy of UrDeuteronomy by the prophet Jeremiah or by later

Deuteronomistic editors of Jeremiah, Jeremiah's involvement in the authoring of UrDeuteronomy in the time of Josiah or the possession of a copy of Jeremiah by editors of Deuteronomy, and so forth. Under the view argued here that both Deuteronomy and Jeremiah were effectively contemporary late compositions of ca. 270 BCE, it seems simplest to propose that the authorial circles of these two texts overlapped.

All this suggests that there is considerable continuity between the literary circles that authored Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. The date of Deuteronomy thus has an important bearing on the date of Jeremiah. My 2017 book *Plato and the Creation of the Hebrew Bible* made the case that the Book of Deuteronomy was composed ca. 270 BCE. Many features of the Mosaic constitution and laws were taken from Plato's *Laws*, his last dialog of ca. 350 BCE (Gmirkin 2017: 38–9, 145–6). The idea of laws as education ('torah') and the use of motive clauses and hortatory legal introductions, prominent in Deuteronomy, were first introduced by Plato (Gmirkin 2017: 200–4). The very plot of Deuteronomy was taken from Plato, (*Laws* 4.715e–718c), where the legislator recited the entire law code with suitable persuasive introductory comments, to the assembled citizenry at the foundation of a new nation (Gmirkin 2017: 203–4). The influence of Plato is thus pronounced in material from Deuteronomistic circles that not only wrote Deuteronomy and Jeremiah and key portions of Kings, but edited the Pentateuch (Rendtorff 1977, 1990) and much of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Person 2002).

Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic Historian

One major expression of Deuteronomistic literary activity after ca. 270 BCE was the creation of the so-called Deuteronomistic History (Joshua–Kings), which has recurrent evidence of editing and some writing by Deuteronomistic circles. Passages thought to have been authored by DtrH ('the Deuteronomistic Historian') included Joshua 1; 12; 23; Judges 2:11–19; 1 Samuel 12; 1 Kings 8; 2 Kings 17:7–15 (Noth 1981). Direct Deuteronomistic influence on Judges–Samuel is relatively slight (e.g. Edenburg and Pakkala 2013), but is especially prominent in Kings. Unlike the Book of Deuteronomy, however, Kings contains harsh polemics against the Samaritans and in favor of Jerusalem, claiming that God's temple was located in Jerusalem, Samaritan religion was centered on false gods, the entire line of Samaritan kings were uniformly wicked and the residents of the land after the fall of Samaria to the Assyrians were descended from foreigners and not Israelites at all. This shift in polemical stance (the so-called 'Samaritan Schism') is most conveniently explained by a change in literary provenance from Alexandria to Jerusalem for biblical texts subsequent to the Pentateuch, and an exclusion of Samaritans from literary production centered at Jerusalem (cf. Gmirkin 2017: 264, 266, 270).

From the use of Kings by the author(s) of Jeremiah¹ and the use of Jeremiah by the author(s) of Kings,² it appears reasonable to propose that both Jeremiah and the final chapters of Kings were authored by the same Deuteronomistic circles and that these authors enjoyed a collegial and collaborative relationship.³

Deuteronomy, Kings and Jeremiah thus display a significant degree of continuity in authorship and Deuteronomistic outlook.

In the prophecies of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, this was portrayed as a new covenant in which the Jews and Samaritans who had returned to the land and who promised to wholeheartedly obey the ancient laws of Moses would be forgiven their past sins as a nation and received back by Yahweh as his chosen people.⁴ For those Jews and Samaritans of ca. 270 BCE, the renewed covenant with Yahweh was not part of the mythic past, but of the mythic present – a story which they themselves were living out by adopting the ancient Mosaic laws as their own. This view of the present as a refounding of the ancient Mosaic constitution was adopted by both Jews and Samaritans, as evidenced by their acceptance of the books of Moses as their foundational religious and legal texts. Indeed, the story that they embraced also entailed a mythic view of the future in which the rift between north and south would be healed, with all twelve returned tribes of Israel reconciled and unified in a single political and religious entity, as in the days of Moses.⁵ This prophetic theme that runs through much of Jeremiah attests to close intellectual affinities with the pan-Israelite outlook of the Pentateuch.

But the story line that runs through Deuteronomistic passages in Samuel–Kings, with its full adoption of the Davidic charter, abandoned the pan-Israelite outlook of the Pentateuch in favor of a Jerusalem-centric perspective that singled out David's dynasty and Jerusalem's temple of Solomon as chosen for all time by Yahweh. The Book of Jeremiah likewise superimposed the Davidic charter myth on the earlier Mosaic charter myth of the Pentateuch (Hjelm 2004: 223–53). Jeremiah, like Moses, predicted a return of exiles from both Israel and Judah to the Promised Land (Jer 3:18; 16:14–15; 30:3; 31:27) where they would unite to form a single nation under divine law, as in the Mosaic charter, but as a revived monarchy, not as a tribal democracy as in the Mosaic period. In the mythic future projected by Jeremiah, the Davidic dynasty would be restored (Jer 23:5–6; 30:9; 33:15–26).⁶ Jerusalem would be rebuilt as the capital of a new United Monarchy (Jer 3:17; 31:38–40; cf. 30:18),⁷ and the returnees from both Israel and Judah would all worship at the temple on Mount Zion (Jer 3:17; 31:1–14, 18–22, 38–40; 50:4–5)⁸ in what amounted to a reliving of the past mythic glories of the golden era of David and Solomon. Jeremiah thus exhibits the same shift in polemical stance found in Samuel–Kings, as also illustrated by the anti-Samaritan rhetoric of Jer 3:6–14; 4:1–2; 23:13.

The Book of Jeremiah has numerous narrative passages relating to the final days of Jerusalem and the aftermath of its fall that are more appropriate to the genre of historiography than prophesy. The Book of Jeremiah appears to have been written as a prophetic sequel to Deuteronomy and conclusion to 2 Kings, a final Deuteronomistic composition narrating the fulfillment of Mosaic prophecies regarding the conquest and exile of the children of Israel (Deut 4:25–28; 28:48–68; 29:20–28; 31:16–21, 26–29; cf. Jer 11:1–13) as well as reiterating the hopeful prophecies of repentance and return at Deut 4:29–31; 30:1–10 (cf. Jer 3:12–18, 19–23; 12:14–16; 16:14–15; 24:4–7; 27:22; 29:10–14; 30:1–31:40; 32:30–44; 33:6–26) and providing a concluding Deuteronomistic reprise and negative evaluation of the final kings over Jerusalem comparable to that found in 2 Kings 17

at the fall of Samaria, but missing from 2 Kings 21–25 (cf. Jer 7:1–26; 25:1–9; 32:26–36; 44:1–14). Deuteronomistic literary circles thus framed the post-Mosaic history of the Israelites as an ancient nation between two prophetic literary discourses, that of Moses at the entrance to the Promised Land and that of Jeremiah at the captivity and reverse Exodus back to Egypt.

Greek influences on Deuteronomistic prophetic stereotypes

Charismatic literary prophets in Samuel–Kings closely correspond to historical prophets (*manteis*) among the Greeks, both in their itinerant lifestyle (Roth 1982: 177–80; Flower 2008: 23, 28, 122–6) and in the transmission of prophetic skills from father to son in the ‘schools of the prophets’.⁹ The figure of Jeremiah, however, belongs to a distinct literary trope, the Deuteronomistic Prophet.

The stereotyped biblical literary portraits of true and false prophets in the late monarchy represent late Deuteronomistic reflections on the theological and institutional causes of the downfall of the Jewish nation (de Jong 2007: 323–33; Carroll 1986: 522). The literary stereotypes of true and false prophets were not restricted to biblical narratives alone, but often surfaced within the content of prophetic discourses in which prophets such as Amos, Micah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel railed against their opponents the false prophets with their lying oracles of peace (Jer 6:14; 8:11; 14:13; 23:16–17, 21–22, 25–38; 27:9, 14; 37:19; Lam 2:14; Ezekiel 13–14; Mic 3:5–6, 11; Zeph 3:4; cf. 2 Kgs 22:22–23). In Jeremiah, the basic structure of prophecy, rejection and lamentation presupposed the Deuteronomistic model of the rejected true prophet. The Deuteronomistic literary caricature of the false prophet appeared prominently in Jeremiah, where the fall of the Jewish monarchy and the destruction of the temple were blamed on the failure of the establishment institutions, including that of temple prophecy.¹⁰

Another stock Deuteronomistic literary character was the figure of the persecuted true prophet, of whom the figure of Jeremiah was a prominent example. This literary trope has some basic affinities with literary prophets as depicted in Greek tragedy, especially the prophet Teiresias. Greek tragedies shared a complex of literary motifs that included the prophet’s fear to deliver an unpopular message,¹¹ his reluctant criticism of the king,¹² royal abuse or mistreatment of the prophet¹³ and a resulting prophecy of doom on the offending king.¹⁴ Teiresias, the most prominent of these prophets, reluctantly gave negative prophecies to kings Oedipus, Creon and Pentheus, and all three episodes resulted in violent royal anger against the prophet.¹⁵ In all three cases the prediction of doom was based on the anger of the gods for an action of impiety.¹⁶ But Teiresias was no social critic, like the biblical true prophet, nor was he opposed by the prophets of his day or other institutional enemies.

Plato and the prophets

The biblical literary stereotype of the true prophet as persecuted social critic appears instead to have been modeled primarily on the figure of Socrates,

especially as portrayed by Plato, who consciously modeled his depiction of Socrates on Teiresias in several dialogs.¹⁷ According to Plato, Socrates claimed to be a prophet sent by Apollo on a divine mission to wake up and better the people of Athens, who were threatened by the evils brought on by ignorance (Plato, *Apology* 29a, 30b, 30e–31a). Far from being an atheist, Socrates claimed in his apology or legal defense that he was a servant of god¹⁸ who obeyed god's every command,¹⁹ and that his irritating pursuit of philosophy was the way by which god intended to save Athens from itself. Plato likened Socrates to a gadfly who stung the Athenian elites by his challenging of conventional wisdom.²⁰ Socrates's complaints about the personal distress brought on him by his prophetic mission are strikingly reminiscent of Jeremiah's similar complaints.²¹ Socrates was finally charged with atheism under the Athenian law against impiety written by another Athenian prophet and politician, Diopithes (Plutarch, *Pericles* 32.1). Comparing himself to a soldier who would not abandon a dangerous post (Plato, *Apology* 28e–29a) – to which Socrates had been assigned by no less than Apollo – Socrates refused to flee Athens into exile, but faced trial before the Assembly and willingly went to his death as a loyal and pious Athenian citizen. Plato described Socrates as “the best and wisest and most righteous man” of his generation (*Phaedo* 118a), a sentiment echoed in the encomium to Socrates at Xenophon, (*Memorabilia* 4.8). Many later Greeks and Romans perpetuated this picture of Socrates as a wise, righteous philosopher and a prophet. He became the historical and literary prototype of an innocent martyr and influenced later Greek (Stoic), Jewish and Christian martyrologies.²² The Deuteronomist ideal of the true prophet as Yahweh's servant who criticized those in power and was opposed and ultimately slain by the very institutions he was trying to save lacks a parallel among ancient Near Eastern prophets or prophets of Greek history and legend (except a limited parallel with Teiresias, as noted above), but closely conforms to the idealized portrait of Socrates as rejected prophet in Plato's writings.²³

Another prominent Platonic influence in the Prophets, including the Book of Jeremiah, was the criticism of the participation of the wicked in the sacrificial cult, a recurrent theme that appeared in almost all of the so-called ‘pre-exilic’ prophetic texts.²⁴ This appears to reflect Plato's theological arguments against the effectiveness of prayers and sacrifices by the wicked,²⁵ and was arguably introduced into Jewish theology by Deuteronomist circles conversant with Platonic philosophy.

Jeremiah and the Oracles against the Nations

The well-known biblical genre conventionally called the Oracles against the Nations (OAN) appears prominently in the later chapters of Jeremiah and is poorly integrated with narrative passages. The OAN of Jeremiah appears in different order and is located in different chapters in the MT (Jer 27, 46–51) and Septuagint (Jeremiah 25–32), showing the loose connection of the OAN with that prophetic text.

Oracles against the Nations consist of collections of prophecies directed against a variety of foreign nations, cities and peoples that include both Judah's immediate

neighbors and distant empires with which Judah historically had interactions. The OAN, which appear in most of the Prophets,²⁶ once circulated independently as a distinct genre of Jewish literature.²⁷ Some OAN appear in more than one of the Prophets, often in altered form.²⁸ Many of the OAN are substantially free from Pentateuchal content, including virtually the entirety of the Minor Prophets Nahum, Habakkuk and Obadiah, as well as substantial portions of Isaiah 13–23, Jeremiah 46–61 and Ezekiel 25–31. It is thus likely that the OAN as a genre, including some of those found in Jeremiah, pre-date the Pentateuch of ca. 270 BCE.

Greek books of prophecy containing loose collections of prophecies against foreign nations were written down in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE and attributed to Bakis or to the Sibyls, legendary figures of the distant past. Many scholars have noted the striking resemblance of the *Sibylline Oracles* to the OAN,²⁹ but a direct influence between the OAN and the *Sibylline Oracles* – in either direction – has universally been ruled out due to the presumed antiquity of the OAN. The same is true for the oracles of Bakis. (See Parke 1983: 13; Lange 2006: 266–7, 273–5; 2009: 46.) Both Parke and Lange discounted the possibility of direct influence in either direction between Greek oracles collections and Israelite literary prophecy since they assumed that both flourished in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, a thesis that can only be verified on the Greek side). With Alexander's conquests, it is certain that the *Sibylline Oracles* became known in the east (Parke 1983: 125–35). According to Nicanor, an obscure biographer of Alexander the Great mentioned only in the *Sibylline Oracles*, Alexander discovered the existence of a Babylonian Sibyl when he conquered that nation (*SibOr* Prologue 39; Varro in Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes* 1.6). Eastern Sibyls included Persian, Egyptian and Babylonian Sibyls as well as a Jewish Sibyl (who was said to have sailed with Noah on the ark at *SibOr* 3.820–21). A poem by the Alexandrian poet Lycophron called the *Alexandra*, in which Cassandra, the prophetess in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, was closely modeled on the Sibyl, has been taken as evidence that Sibylline literature was known at Alexandria at an early date. It is entirely possible that the Jews were also exposed to the genre of Sibylline literature in the period ca. 325–270 BCE and began to produce examples of the same type in the form of the earliest OAN directed against their immediate neighbors.

Nothing in any of the OAN indicates a date before the conquests of Alexander. This is consistent with an understanding of this genre as having originated in the period 325–270 BCE, prior to the composition of the Pentateuch. An early Hellenistic era date requires some of the OAN to have contained *ex eventu* prophecies of earlier periods – notably Nahum, which predicted the fall of Assyria – but this phenomenon also appeared in the Greek prophecies against foreign nations, which famously included a *Sibylline Oracle* that predicted the Trojan War (Pausanias 10.12.2; *SibOr* 3.401–32).³⁰ The earliest datable OAN is Ezekiel 26, in which the successful siege of Tyre, facilitated by the construction of a mole and causeway (Ezek 26:8), corresponds to the historical siege and fall of Tyre to Alexander (Torrey 1925: 284–5; cf. Box 1932: 83). The failure of this prophecy, which predicted that Tyre would become desolate and uninhabited, appears to positively indicate a date of 332 BCE, at the outset of the Hellenistic era in the midst of the siege of

Tyre. The broad character of the OAN directed against Moab, Ammon, Edom and other neighboring territories does not appear to indicate a specific date of composition. The OAN against Egypt at Jer 43:8–13; 46:1–28 and Ezekiel 29–30 were envisioned as fulfilled in a conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar that did not historically take place, but appeared only in Berossus (Josephus, *Ant.* 10.181–85; cf. 10.20–23, 34, 219–26), which exaggerated Nebuchadnezzar’s military accomplishments (cf. Marcus 1966: 6.259 n. a. on Berossus as Josephus’s source). This apparent literary dependence on Berossus’s *Babyloniaca* indicates that the OAN in Jeremiah and Ezekiel were written no earlier than ca. 280 BCE. Several OAN contained allusions taken from the Primary History that suggest authorship or revision after ca. 270 BCE, including several OAN found in Jeremiah.³¹ In summary, the OAN of Jeremiah represents an authoritative older pre-Pentateuchal literary genre influenced by the *Sibylline Oracles* that the authors of Jeremiah drew upon and lightly reworked. Despite dating to the Hellenistic era, they represent some of Jeremiah’s oldest source material.

Jeremiah, Kings and Berossus

The influence of the *Babylonian Chronicles* on the historiography of Kings was first noted at Van Seters (1983: 79–82, 294–5). These chronicles of the Neo-Babylonian period are remarkable in their presentation of ‘objective’ (that is, non-propagandistic) history (Van Seters 1983: 82). The influence of the *Babylonian Chronicles* is most evident in the dry conclusion of 2 Kings, where there is a succession of brief accounts that recorded the reigns of the last Jewish kings and their struggles to resist Babylonian rule, as seen most clearly at 2 Kings 25 (Van Seters 1983: 295). This same style is also seen in several narrative passages in Jeremiah with content that frequently overlapped with 2 Kings 24–25. The *Babylonian Chronicles* frequently dated events by regnal year, month and day, something also seen in 2 Kings 25 and in Jeremiah. While Van Seters convincingly demonstrated the close affinity of the historiography in Kings and the *Babylonian Chronicles*, he was unable to explain when and where Jewish historians were exposed to these Neo-Babylonian cuneiform records. Berossus was the only classical historian to utilize the *Babylonian Chronicles*. This suggests a very direct mechanism of transmission: Jewish scholars were exposed to the *Babylonian Chronicles* by way of Berossus.

The use of Berossus by the authors of Kings and Jeremiah is indicated by multiple lines of evidence:

- Berossus relied on the *Babylonian Chronicles* for his account in *Babyloniaca* Book 3 of the later kings starting with Nabu-nasir (747–734 BCE). In Kings, narratives dealing with interactions of Israel and Judah with Assyria and Babylonia are extremely inaccurate or uninformed prior to this date,³² but highly accurate, and written in language comparable to the *Babylonian Chronicles* after this date. The Assyrian and Babylonian kings mentioned or omitted in Book 3 of the *Babyloniaca* exactly correspond to those mentioned or omitted in Kings.

- The account at 2 Kgs 19:35–37 of Sennacherib abandoning the siege of Jerusalem and returning home to be assassinated by his sons draws directly on a fragment of the *Babyloniaca* at Josephus, *Ant.* 10.20–21, which contains the same information, sentence by sentence, but supplemented by additional details which can only have come from cuneiform sources Berossus had access to at Babylon.³³
- Chronological references in 2 Kings 24–25 and their parallels in Jeremiah point to the use of the *Babylonian Chronicles*. Several events were dated to the regnal years of Nebuchadnezzar, betraying a Babylonian rather than Judean source.³⁴ Another event was dated to the accession year of Amelmerodach (2 Kgs 25:27; Jer 52:31), also pointing to a Babylonian source. Four events relating to the siege and fall of Jerusalem were dated in full regnal year-month-day format, similar to that found in the *Babylonian Chronicles*: the siege of Jerusalem in Zedekiah's year 9, month 10, day 10 (2 Kgs 25:1; Jer 39:1; 52:4), the fall of Jerusalem in Zedekiah's year 11, month 4, day 9 (2 Kgs 25:2–3; Jer 39:2; 52:6), the burning of the temple in Nebuchadnezzar's year 19, month 5, day 7 (2 Kgs 25:8; Jer 52:12) and the freeing of Jehoiachin from prison after 32 years in the accession year of Amelmerodach, month 12, day 27 (2 Kgs 25:27; Jer 52:31). Regnal year, month and day appeared in the *Babylonian Chronicles* for similar events, including sieges, the capture and sacking of cities, field battles, capture and transport of temples, gods and goods, capture of kings and execution of rebel leaders (see Grayson 1975). The siege and fall of Jerusalem were dated in terms of either Zedekiah's reign (2 Kgs 25.1–3) or Nebuchadnezzar's reign (2 Kgs 25.8). These two precise dates in Zedekiah's reign led Van Seters to theorize that the Royal Chronicles of Judah and Israel were written after 597 BCE in a style imitating the *Babylonian Chronicles* (Van Seters 1983: 295, 298). But while the *Babylonian Chronicles* gave especial attention to the exact dates of a king's accession and death (Wiseman 1974: 3), no such exact date was given for the accession of any Jewish king, even those found in 2 Kings 24–25. This suffices to demonstrate that the Royal Chronicles were not written in this style, even during the last years of the Judean monarchy. Jer 32.1 demonstrates that the Jewish chronographers had carefully synchronized the reigns of Zedekiah and Nebuchadnezzar,³⁵ and it is apparent that in 2 Kgs 25:1–3 a regnal year of Zedekiah has been substituted for the original regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar with exact month and day in the Babylonian source that gave a precise chronology of Jerusalem's fall.³⁶

Historiographical passages in Jeremiah taken directly from Berossus include Jer 39:1–10; 52:4–31; cf. 32:1–2. As noted in the previous section, the OAN against Egypt at Jer 43:8–13; 46:1–28 drew indirectly on historical misinformation taken from Berossus.

Early oral traditions in Jeremiah

Although the Book of Jeremiah was written ca. 270 BCE or shortly thereafter, and was for the most part novelistic (see 'Conclusions' below), one must consider

the possibility that it drew in part on local Jewish oral traditions about prominent local figures, cultural institutions such as palace and temple, and architectural features of Iron II Jerusalem. The Book of Jeremiah is populated with priests, scribes and palace officials, some of whom also appear on Iron II *bullae* and *ostraca*, suggesting that the authors of Jeremiah were acquainted with some of the prominent personalities living around the time of the fall of Jerusalem through oral traditions that persisted into the early Hellenistic era.

One significant Iron II parallel to Jeremiah is a reference to Jewish troops sent to Egypt under the command of one ‘Coniah son of Elnathan’ at Lachish Ostrakon 3, lines 14–21. Although the purpose of the mission to Egypt in Lachish Ostrakon 3 is unknown, it has plausibly been connected to a story in the Book of Jeremiah. Jer 26:20–23 reported a detachment of Jewish troops sent by King Jehoiakim to Egypt under the command of ‘Elnathan son of Achbor’ to apprehend an anti-monarchist prophet named Uriah, who was brought back to Jerusalem and executed. If the two events were related, then Jer 26:22 misidentified the leader of the Jewish mission (‘Elnathan son of Achbor’) as the father of the actual commander (‘Coniah son of Elnathan’). This mistake of a single generation within the same family is most easily accounted for as a product of later oral tradition. Both the apparent accuracies and the apparent historical inaccuracies in the biblical account may thus find a common explanation as oral tradition passed down from the late monarchic period.

Perhaps the most significant evidence for the possible preservation of archaic oral traditions in the Book of Jeremiah consists of personal names of figures that also appear with identical patronym or title on provenanced, authentic *bullae* from the late monarchy found in relatively close proximity in the City of David (Mykytiuk 2012: 51). Full agreement of name and patronym or title between the *bullae* and biblical passages, clustered in Jeremiah 36–38, occur in three instances (Mykytiuk 2012: 48, 50–1): Gemariah b. Shaphan (Jer 36:10, 12, 25), J(eh)ucal b. Shemaliah (Jer 37:3; 38:1), and Gedaliah b. Pashur (Jer 38:1).³⁷

Bureaucratic officials named in Jeremiah and documented in provenanced *bullae* included at least one scribe from the family of Shaphan, namely Gemariah b. Shaphan. It is uncertain whether the phrase ‘Gemariah the son of Shaphan the scribe’ at Jer 36:10 referred to Gemariah or to Shaphan as scribe, but the *bulla* containing the name Gemariah b. Shaphan would seem to indicate that Gemariah performed bureaucratic duties that could be considered scribal. The Shaphanites were associated either directly or indirectly with the ruling class in biblical references. In 2 Kings and Jeremiah they were portrayed as scribes associated with the temple and palace (2 Kgs 22:8–12; Jer 26:4; 36:10–12). In these same books, Gedaliah the grandson of Shaphan was named as the first governor under Babylonian rule (2 Kgs 25:22–25; Jer 39:14; 40:5–12; 41:1–3). Shaphanite association with the Jewish ruling class is also suggested by Ezekiel 8:11, where Jaazaniah b. Shaphan was portrayed as one of the leaders of the ‘70 elders’ of Jerusalem. This passage in Ezekiel appears to be anachronistic and seemingly reflects Shaphanite participation in the Hellenistic era *gerousia*, since evidence for a Jewish ruling council of elders in the Persian period is lacking. Given that the Pentateuch of

ca. 270 BCE and its translation into Greek were likely authorized by this same *gerousia* (Gmirkin 2006: 249–56), this suggests that the Deuteronomist circles of ca. 270 BCE may have included members of the Shaphanite scribal family.

Under the Maximalist model, a connection between Deuteronomistic circles and the scribal families of Shaphan and Neriah was often proposed within a setting of the late monarchy³⁸ at the hypothesized inception of the ‘Deuteronomistic movement’ and the equally hypothetical archaic production of Deuteronomistic literature. Both Deuteronomists and Deuteronomistic literature appear to have instead flourished in a brief span of time at Alexandria and Jerusalem ca. 270 BCE and shortly thereafter, when distinguished descendants of the Shaphanite scribal family may have helped author various Deuteronomistic texts and inserted their ancestors into the historiographical narratives they composed. While the stories featuring members of the family of Shaphan in Jeremiah and Kings may be considered fictional, the ancestral figures themselves may conceivably have been real, and their social positions and connections with the temple and palace in Jeremiah (especially Jeremiah 36–38, on evidence of the *bullae*) might reflect accurate details preserved in oral tradition and recalled by later generations.

Conclusions

The Book of Jeremiah is a composite text of late date and multiple authors, containing a mixture of historical narratives, poetry and prophetic oracles against Jerusalem and the nations. It is best assigned a date shortly after ca. 270 BCE, written as a sequel to Deuteronomy and originally planned as the conclusion of the Primary History of Genesis–Kings. It displays a number of influences, both Greek (Plato, the *Sibylline Oracles*), Hellenistic (Berossus) and Jewish (late oral traditions derived from Jewish scribal circles). Its strong Deuteronomistic content links it to the same circles that authored the Pentateuch at Alexandria in ca. 270 BCE, but its repudiation of the Samaritans in favor of a strictly Jerusalem-centric perspective points to a slightly later date and Judean provenance.

Besides its late date of composition, several other considerations point to the main story line of Jeremiah as essentially novelistic:

- The Jeremiah stories share basic literary themes with many other biblical tales. The motif of a prophet-protagonist’s imprisonment and deliverance occur in stories about Joseph in Pharaoh’s prison, Jeremiah in the prison-pit of Jerusalem and Daniel in the lions’ den. The motif of a prophet’s battle against adversaries is found also in the stories of Moses and the Egyptian wizards, Elijah and the prophets of Baal, Micaiah and the false prophets, Jeremiah and the false prophets Pashur and Hananiah, and Daniel and the Chaldean wise men. These standard plot elements mark the narratives that feature Jeremiah as literary in character and dispute suppositions of genuine historical content.
- Other story elements integral to the plot of Jeremiah are a clear product of Deuteronomist ideology. The opposition of true prophets and false prophets

or true prophets and the institutions of palace and temple are stereotypical Deuteronomistic literary tropes. The story of the utter depopulation of Judah by the flight of the last remnant of Jews to Egypt in Jeremiah 39–43, with Jeremiah's prediction that even this remnant would be exterminated, leaving Judah utterly desolate and uninhabited, is another obvious fictional motif intended to illustrate Deuteronomistic themes.³⁹

- The figure of Jeremiah himself as a persecuted true prophet draws heavily on Greek literary antecedents, and specifically on the figure of Socrates as portrayed in Plato's dialogues.

As a whole the Book of Jeremiah must thus be considered early Hellenistic era literary fiction, despite its pseudepigraphical claims to ancient authorship.

Notes

- 1 Passages in Jeremiah that drew directly on 2 Kings were selectively cataloged with brief discussion at Parke-Taylor (2000: 240–1).
- 2 In particular, 2 Kgs 25:22–26 appears to summarize earlier stories about Gedaliah at Jer 40:7–41:18; cf. Cogan and Tadmor (1988: 326), Campbell and O'Brien (2000: 470), O'Brien (1989: 271).
- 3 In several examples, significant language parallels between 2 Kings and Jeremiah show definite literary dependence, although it is difficult to determine in which direction the literary borrowing took place. See 2 Kgs 21:2–9 cf. Jer 19:4–5, 13; 32:29–35 (offensive cultic practices under Manasseh); 2 Kgs 21:11, 16 cf. Jer 32:35 and 2 Kgs 21:12 cf. Jer 19:3 (the prophetic condemnation of Manasseh's reign); 2 Kgs 22:16–17, 20 cf. Jer 1:16; 4:4; 7:20; 19:3–4; 21:12; 25:6–7; 32:30; 44:5, 8, 15 (Huldah's prophecy against Josiah). For a detailed discussion of the language parallels in 2 Kgs 21:16–20 and Jeremiah, see O'Brien (1989: 247, 286–7), Cogan and Tadmor (1988: 326); Campbell and O'Brien (2000: 470), O'Brien (1989: 271).
- 4 Jer 24:4–7 (Judah); 30:20–22 (Israel); 31:18–19 (Ephraim), 31–34 (Judah and Israel); 32:37–41 (Judah).
- 5 At Jer 3:18, the joining of Israel and Judah was explicit. Jer 31:31 predicted that both would enter together into a new covenant.
- 6 Note that Jer 33:14–26, which contained the Davidic and Aaronid Charters in covenant form, are absent from Jeremiah LXX, suggesting that the Davidic Charter may have been absent from the earliest Jeremiah textual materials.
- 7 A shift in emphasis can be detected in the doublets at Jer 23:5 (“Judah will be saved and Israel will dwell in safety”) and the Jerusalem-centric 33:16 (“Judah will be saved and Jerusalem will dwell in safety”).
- 8 Zion as Jerusalem's holy mountain first appeared in the Psalms and Prophets, where the motif was closely associated with the restoration of Davidic rule over a reunified Israel. See especially the discussion at Hjelm (2004: 254–8). Although in its original conception, the Primary History had outlined the same basic history for Jews and Samaritans, in its execution the later books of the Primary History (as well as Jeremiah) displayed a clear favoritism to the Jews. See also Hjelm (2004: 294–303), on the competition between Samaria and Judea in the Deuteronomistic History of Judges–Samuel.
- 9 See Roth (1982: 219–35) on the hereditary transmission of prophetic skills in prominent prophetic families among the Greeks. In references to biblical schools of the prophets (1 Sam 10:5–6, 9–11; 1 Kgs 20:35; 2 Kgs 2:3, 7, 15; 4:1; 6:1; 9:1), the instructor or senior prophet was addressed as ‘father’; cf. 1 Sam 10:12 (Samuel); 2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14 (Elijah and Elisha).

- 10 De Jong (2007: 323, 330–1), Carroll (1986: 73). The false prophets were blamed for the fall of Jerusalem (Jer 14:13–16; 23:15–22; 27:14–15; 28:15–16; Lam 4:13). This blame was shared by the priests, kings and princes of Judah (Jer 1:18–19; 4:9–10; 13:12; 27:7–8, 11, 16–17; 31:38–40; 32:32–33; Lam 4:13).
- 11 Homer, *Iliad* 1.74–83 (Calchas); Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 954–56; Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 316–44, 353, 365.
- 12 Homer, *Iliad* 1.90–9 (Calchas and Agamemnon); Euripides, *Bacchae* 344–69 (Teiresias and Pentheus); Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 350–53, 363, 367, 447–63 (Teiresias and Oedipus); *idem*, *Antigone* 1015–33 (Teiresias and Creon). Flower (2008: 32) compared the criticism of kings by Teiresias in Greek tragedy with the criticism of Israelite kings by Elijah and Elisha.
- 13 Homer, *Iliad* 1.80–83, 100–9 (Agamemnon); Euripides, *Bacchae* 343–58 (Pentheus); *idem*, *Phoenician Women* 879 (sons of Oedipus); Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 323–73, 385–403, 429–30 (Oedipus); *idem*, *Antigone* 1033–59 (Creon).
- 14 Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 408–28; *idem*, *Antigone* 1063–90.
- 15 For Oedipus see Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 323–73, 385–403, 429–30; for Creon see Sophocles, *Antigone* 1033–59; for Pentheus see Euripides, *Bacchae* 266–369; for Agamemnon, see Homer, *Iliad* 1.100–9; cf. Scott (1995: 49, n. 27).
- 16 Homer, *Iliad* 1.8–10, 90–9; Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex Tyrannus* 300–9, 350–3, 363, 447–63.
- 17 The comparison of Socrates to Teiresias was explicit at Plato, *Protagoras* 315b–c; *idem*, *Meno* 100a. In the Allegory of the Cave (Plato, *Republic* 7.514a–521a), the guide to the underworld was clearly based on the prophet Teiresias in Homer's *Odyssey* 11.29–51, 90–152, but as a philosopher who was threatened with death for goading and cross-examining the living was also intended to evoke Socrates; cf. Scott (1995: 48–50), Warnek (2005: 119–40), Phagan (2009: 88–95).
- 18 Plato, *Apology* 23c, 30a; cf. *idem*, *Ion* 534c–d, where prophets were described as 'servants' of the prophesying god. Socrates sometimes equated 'the god' (*ho theos*) that he served with Apollo (*idem*, *Phaedo* 84e–85b).
- 19 Plato, *Apology* 21e, 22a, 23b, 28e, 30a, 33c, 37e. The divine voice Socrates heard revealed God's will and the duties Socrates was to perform (Xenophon, *Apology* 12), namely to pursue philosophy and criticize those who were considered wise.
- 20 Plato, *Apology* 30e–31a. Socrates used a method of questioning called *elenchus* (Plato, *Apology* 29a) that was normally used for cross-examining witnesses in court, and rebuked those who claimed to have a virtue they lacked (Plato, *Apology* 29a, 30b).
- 21 "After this then I went on from one to another, perceiving that I was hated, and grieving and fearing, but nevertheless I thought I must consider the god's business of the highest importance" (Plato, *Apology* 21e). Compare the allegedly autobiographical 'confessions' of Jeremiah, introspective laments that purportedly provide deep psychological insights into this troubled prophet, found at Jer 11:18–12:6; 15:10–21; 17:14–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–18. The only textual connections between these 'confessions' and the figure of Jeremiah are occasional Deuteronomistic chapter superscriptions. Once these are recognized as editorial additions, nothing remains to connect these laments (or other poetic content in Jeremiah 1–25) with either the figure of Jeremiah or the fall of Jerusalem; cf. Carroll (1986: 35).
- 22 Cf. Fischel (1947: 367, 383–4); Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 5; *idem*, *Second Apology* 3, 7, 10; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.10; Origen, *Against Celsus* 2.13; Tertullian, *Treatise on the Soul* 1; Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 4.11.
- 23 Plato's modeling of Socrates on the prophet Teiresias appears to fully account for parallels between biblical true prophets and Teiresias without any need to hypothesize the biblical authors having been directly acquainted with the figure of Teiresias from Homer or Greek tragedy.
- 24 Isa 1:10–15; 58:3–6; Jer 7:21–22; 8:8; Hos 2:11; 6:6; Amos 2:8; 5:25; Mic 6:6–8. The thesis that God rejects the offerings of the wicked also appeared at Gen 4:7; Deut

- 10:16–18; 1 Sam 15:22–23; Prov 15:8; Ps 40:6; Eccl 5:1. In a similar vein, Isa 1:14–15 claimed God rejects the prayers of the wicked.
- 25 Plato, *Republic* 2.364b–365a, 365e–366a; 3.390d–e; *idem*, *Laws* 4.716b–717a; 10.885b–d, 888c, 905d–907b, 908e, 909b, 910b. See Plato, *Euthyphro*, *passim*, where Socrates was said to have come into conflict with Euthyphro, an Athenian prophet and religious expert, on the nature of holiness, piety and the gods, questioning whether the gods needed the prayers and sacrifices by which Athenians sought to placate and bribe them. Neither Plato nor the Prophets sought to abolish the priesthood or the sacrificial cult (cf. Klawans 2006: 75–84), but both claimed unrighteousness rendered sacrifices ineffectual.
 - 26 OAN include Isaiah 13–23; Jeremiah 46–51; Ezekiel 25–31; Amos 1:1–2:3; Zephaniah 2:1–15; Obadiah; Nahum; Habakkuk 1–2; Zechariah 9:1–8.
 - 27 Jer 28:8 referred to the former prophets as having prophesied war, famine and pestilence against many kingdoms, a seeming reference to the OAN as a well-known earlier genre of prophetic literature. The attribution of the collection of OAN to Jeremiah (Jer 25:13–33; 46:1, 13; 47:1; 49:34; 50:1; 51:59–64) likely influenced his biblical description as a “prophet to the nations” (Jer 1:5); both poetic oracles and prose sermons in Jeremiah were otherwise directed at Judah and Jerusalem.
 - 28 For instance, Jer 48:5 // Isa 15:5; Jer 48:29–33 // Isa 16:6–10; Jer 48:33–39 // Isa 15:2–7; Jer 48:43–44 // Isa 24:17–18; Jer 48:45–46 // Isa 15:2, 4–6; 16:11 // Num 21:27–29; 24:17; Jer 49:9, 11–16 // Obad 1–5; Jer 50:16 // Isa 13:14; Jer 51:58 // Hab. 2:13.
 - 29 Parke (1983: 5–6), Collins (1983: 1.318). Collins compared the Erythraean Sibyl “foreseeing on behalf of men hardships difficult to bear” with the reference to prophets “from ancient times [who] prophesied war, famine and pestilence against many nations and great kingdoms” at Jer 28:8, which is often taken as a description of the OAN in Jeremiah. Compare also the echo of Jer 28:8 at *SibOr* 6.601–3: “Therefore the Immortal will inflict on all mortals disaster and famine and woes and groans and war and pestilence and lamentable ills”.
 - 30 Note also the *ex eventu* prophecy of the exile and restoration of the Jews at *SibOr* 3.265–94. The diverse literary materials present in *SibOr* book 3, which fused authentic older *Sibylline Oracles* of Greek origin with new Jewish oracles pseudepigraphically attributed to the Sibyl, is thought to have been authored in ca. 170–140 BCE in Egypt, probably at Alexandria (Collins 1983: 1.322, 355–6; Frazier 1984: 1.708–9). Later Christian OAN also masqueraded as authentic *Sibylline* prophecies.
 - 31 Possible allusions from Genesis–Kings appear in OAN at Isa 13:19; 14:1–2; 17:3–4, 7; 18:7; Jer 46:1–2, 27–28; 49:18; 50:17, 33–34, 40; 51:5–6; Ezek 25:3; 28:13; 31:9, 16, 18; Nah 1:4; Zeph 2:9; Zech 9:1.
 - 32 Kings knew nothing of Ahab’s participation (and likely his death) in the battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III in 853 BCE, Jehu’s submission to the Assyrians in 841 BCE, or that Joash was a vassal king under Adad-nirari III.
 - 33 As Marcus commented (1996: 6.170 n. b), “According to scripture, Esarhaddon was a son of Sennacherib, but it is not known where Josephus derived his information about the ‘sons of Senacheirimos next in line,’ or even that Adrammelech and Sharezer were the two elder sons”. Marcus’s perplexity is itself perplexing, since Josephus, *Ant.* 10.20–21 is explicitly identified as a passage from Berossus, and Berossus drew on cuneiform sources on the succession of Esarhaddon in other preserved fragments (Berossus *FGrH* 685 F5; cf. Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F5, drawing on Berossus).
 - 34 Events were dated to Nebuchadnezzar’s year 1 (Jer 25:1), year 7 (Jer 52:28), year 8 (2 Kgs 24:12), year 18 (Jer 32:1; 52:29), year 19 (2 Kgs 25:8; Jer 52:12) and year 23 (Jer 52:30). Jer 52:28–30 and the synchronism with Nebuchadnezzar in Jer 25:1 are missing in the Septuagint.
 - 35 Jer 32:1, “The tenth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, which was the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar”; cf. Jer 25:1, “The fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of

- Judah (that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon)". The synchronism with Nebuchadnezzar was missing from the Septuagint of Jer 25:1.
- 36 Compare the precise dating of the earlier fall of Jerusalem on Adar 2 of Nebuchadnezzar's year 7 in *Babylonian Chronicle* no. 5.
 - 37 In addition, Dearman (1990: 409–18) and Mykytiuk (2004: 188–96) credited three *bullae* with the names Baruch b. Neriah, the scribe (Jer 36:4–10, 32), Seriah b. Neriah (Jer 51:59–64), and Jerahmeel, son of the king (Jer 36:26), but these are all unprovenanced and may be considered of doubtful authenticity. Mykytiuk (2012) withdrew his previous positive assessment of these *bullae* in light of Rollston (2004), which called for new rigorous standards in the authentication of Northwest Semitic epigraphs in light of the many forgeries that regularly appear on the antiquities market.
 - 38 For the house of Shaphan, see Weinfeld (1992: 158–60, 184), Dearman (1990: 418). A connection between the Deuteronomists and the scribal family of Neriah based on references to the latter in the Book of Jeremiah was proposed at Dearman (1990).
 - 39 This motif also appeared at 2 Kgs 23.26 in a passage that either drew on the Book of Jeremiah or was written by Jeremiah's author(s).

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3 Will Jeremiah save the history of ancient Israel?

Niels Peter Lemche

At the end of his brilliant study on Jeremiah from 1981, *From Chaos to Covenant*, Robert P. Carroll lamented the lack of modern commentaries on Jeremiah in English (Carroll 1981: 269). He was shortly to publish a major one in the *Old Testament Library*, which became reality in 1986, when his important commentary was published (Carroll 1986). At that time looking for an appropriate commentary on Jeremiah, students were directed to Wilhelm Rudolph's commentary in the respected German series *Handbuch zum Alten Testament* (Rudolph 1958), if not commentaries in French or other languages.

Carroll's commentary became a trustworthy companion through many teaching sessions over the next decades, but it was soon followed by several other major commentaries in English, such as the *International Critical Commentary* by William McKane (McKane 1986–1996), William L. Holladay's commentary in the *Hermeneia* series (Holladay 1986–1989), not to forget Jack R. Lundbom's extensive three-volume commentary in *The Anchor Bible* series (Lundbom 1999–2004). Carroll's commentary, however, stood the test because of a quite different approach to the text of Jeremiah than the one followed in most other commentaries especially in English.

Somehow, critical studies in the text of Jeremiah began with Bernhard Duhm's commentary on Jeremiah from 1901 (Duhm 1901), to be followed up by a study by Sigmund Mowinckel published a few years later (Mowinckel 1914).¹ Mowinckel's study was especially important because of his division of the text of Jeremiah into four strata, his A-B-C-D, the third one, the 'C', being perhaps the most important one, since he related it to Deuteronomistic formulated literature elsewhere in the prophetic and especially the historical books (remember: it was still almost 30 years before Martin Noth's thesis of a Deuteronomistic History appeared (Noth 1942). After the consolidation of Noth's thesis about the Deuteronomistic History, Mowinckel's approach was taken up in a meticulous analysis of the Deuteronomistic editing of Jeremiah by Winfrid Thiel in 1973. A second part was published in 1981 (Thiel 1973, 1981).

In his Jeremiah studies Carroll followed the lead of these scholars, although he never confessed a total reliance on Noth's Deuteronomistic thesis. However, the thrust of Mowinckel's approach, that the Book of Jeremiah consisted of a series of layers not very consistently edited, leaving among other things the chronology of the events narrated in the book in a mess ('rotten' as Mowinckel writes in his

Norwegian text, meaning exactly the same as it does in English), had consequences for Carroll's understanding of the editing of the book. In Carroll's view not only was the book itself created by its editors but the prophet was, so to speak, the product of these same editors. Instead of beginning with the assumption that most of the oracles in the book were Jeremiah's own words, Carroll, in his analyses, stressed the multiple origins of these parts of Jeremiah. We may in fact have very little in the Book of Jeremiah originating with the prophet who gave his name to the collection brought together here by editors, not in the last days of the Kingdom of Judah, nor during the Babylonian exile but probably much later within post-exilic Judaism, not necessarily in Palestine but just as well in Egypt or Mesopotamia.

The competing modern commentaries on Jeremiah in English, already listed, follow a very different approach, bringing in the prophet as the originator of his book and more or less accepting the story of the editing of Jeremiah's words by Baruch Ben Neriah, his scribe and assistant.² For Lundbom, Jeremiah is practically the author of everything – prose as well as poetry – applying a reader-response approach that simply goes against all attempts to split the book into a series of redactions and secondary strata. In many ways his methodology is pre-critical, and his argumentation basically circular. First of all, he has to pose that the Jeremiah of the Book carrying his name is a historical person. Second having 'established' that, the next step is to attribute to this person practically everything found in this prophetic book. In this way the text of the Book of Jeremiah presents the prophet Jeremiah as the 'author' of this book. We may also say that Lundbom set a choice before us: either we accept his methodology that presents to us a prophet called Jeremiah as well as Jeremiah's very words, or we will have to reject his method entirely. It is logically not possible to be selective and argue that Lundbom's approach is like the curate's egg: good in parts.

If Lundbom is right, Jeremiah will be the only person writing in a Deuteronomistic style and basically sharing Deuteronomistic ideas of the fate of Israel known to us by name. In this way Lundbom will also be able to allow us to date the Deuteronomistic movement rather precisely, as it is accepted by most commentators that Jeremiah lived between ca. 645 and 585 BCE, of course based on the testimony of the document claimed to come from Jeremiah's hand, at least in parts, or rather based on the clearly Deuteronomistic chronological note at the beginning of the book. However, if Lundbom is right and the prophet Jeremiah has been identified as a Deuteronomist – still accepting this label – it would also more or less settle the debate about the age of this movement, presenting an almost water-tight argument for dating deuteronomism to ca. 600 BCE. It would date the Deuteronomistic History to the same period and thus be a strong argument in favor of a pre-exilic or early exilic date for the history of Israel presented by the Deuteronomistic History. Clearly, we have here something to look further into.

A note on deuteronomism and the Deuteronomistic History

Just to make it clear: I am still a firm believer in the basic soundness of Martin Noth's thesis of a Deuteronomistic History in spite of modern attempts to dissolve the Deuteronomistic History into an extended number of redactions and sources. For a critical assessment of Noth's idea of a Deuteronomistic History, we may refer

to Thomas Römer (2007). Römer traces the origins of this history back to the Neo-Assyrian period, and calculates a number of subsequent editions from the Neo-Babylonian and finally the Persian period. A Persian date is also suggested by Raymond F. Person (2010). Although nobody can, with any certainty, date the beginning of the basic theology behind Deuteronomistic literature, the real problem is to find a *Sitz im Leben* for this literature which is not dependent on modern ideas about literature. As it is, we have simply no anchor for any dating of deuteronomism that is older than the literature related to this ideology and sharing its theology of the temple and land of Israel. As usual we end up with circular argumentation. We date the literature on the basis of evidence brought forward within this literature itself. That is, we are dependent on the construction made by editors providing internal evidence, and have no idea whether or not this ‘evidence’ is genuine or invented by the editors themselves. One of the strong points of Noth’s original hypothesis was his insistence on purpose, something that disappears in the uncountable redactions proposed by modern critics. The reaction to Noth’s thesis was necessary. In the 1960s and 1970s everything became ‘Deuteronomistic’. I have more than once heard German colleagues speaking about ‘die Deuteronomistische Schwemme’, the Deuteronomistic flood! This is hardly the case anymore. Thus we may say that recent scholarship has done much to bury the Deuteronomistic History in reaction to the generation of scholars that followed Noth. The question is, however, whether by liquidating the essentials of Noth’s thesis they have at the same time lost a central rallying point, not for modern biblical scholars, but for ancient production of historiography relating to ‘biblical Israel’? So, John Van Seters’s point, ‘death by redaction’, seems appropriate when we are evaluating the Deuteronomistic History in present studies (Van Seters 2011).

Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic History

The words of Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin: To whom the word of the LORD came in the days of Josiah the son of Amon King of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign. It came also in the days of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah King of Judah, unto the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah King of Judah, unto the carrying away of Jerusalem captive in the fifth month.

(Jer 1:1–3 KJV)³

This chronological note, which in itself is rather problematic as reflection of events in the time of Josiah that are almost absent from the Book of Jeremiah,⁴ can be compared to similar notes in Isa 1:1, Hos 1:1, Amos 1:1, Mic 1:1, and Zeph 1:1. It is longer than the other examples but basically of the same type and with the same purpose. Other prophetic books are dated as well, but the formulas used are quite different, such as Haggai:

In the second year of Darius the king, in the sixth month, in the first day of the month, came the word of the Lord by Haggai the prophet unto Zerubbabel.

(Hag 1:1 KJV)

Or in Zechariah:

In the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the Lord unto Zechariah, the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo the prophet, saying. . . .
(Zech 1:1)

The difference is not only the style but the very way of dating, showing different purposes. In the case of Haggai and Zechariah it seems most important that a precise setting of the prophecy can be established. Both have to do with the building of the new temple in Jerusalem, i.e. it is about the legitimacy of this temple. Not so in the previous series of chronological information. Here we find a series of prophetic books – collections – centering on the events in the second half of the eighth century and at the beginning of the seventh century. In these books a number of kings known from the Books of Kings are mentioned: Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah (Isa 1:1; Hosea 1:1), Uzziah and Joash (Amos 1:1), Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah (Micah 1:1). Relating to the events leading down to the fall of Jerusalem Josiah is mentioned in Zephaniah (Zeph 1:1) and in Jeremiah (Jer 1:2), and Jeremiah also has a note on the period from the death of Josiah to the fall of Jerusalem in the days of Zedekiah (Jeremiah 1:3).

The two groups of prophets dated to respectively the end of the eighth century and the turn of the seventh century are related to the two periods in the Books of Kings marked out as decisive for the history of Israel before the Babylonian exile. Both periods are critical, and in both cases the survival of Jerusalem is at stake. The first time Jerusalem survives an Assyrian attempt to conquer the city, but in the second instance, Jerusalem is doomed and no rescue is at hand. If anything, in their ‘historical’ context these prophetic books serve as illustrations to the description of the fate of Jerusalem in 701 BCE and 586 BCE respectively in the Deuteronomistic History. Both collections of prophetic literature relate to a history told by historiographers belonging to a circle that was also active in the formation of these prophetic collections.

The question is therefore: are the chronological introductions to these prophetic books – or better, collections as the word ‘book’ already implies too much – integral parts of these collections, or added to them by editors making use of the prophecies for their own purposes? The chronological notes at the beginnings of these prophetic collections are in general pretty similar, indicating the same hand or at least the same group of editors behind all this chronological information. It might indicate that the said books were all introduced with the same purpose in mind. It does not say that the editing process is the same for all books. Probably this was not the case and the redaction history of all books involved need to be treated individually, and maybe Jeremiah is not the place to begin the discussion. The Book of Isaiah, and here especially the first part, chapters 1–39, may present the clearest example of the editing as well as the identity of the hand behind the collection and arrangement of the prophetic material in this book. Isa 7:1 will provide the answer needed because of the opening which is pretty much lifted from 2 Kgs 16:5. In this way the person who put Isaiah 7 together shows his hand: he opens his story of Isaiah and Ahaz with an intertextual reference to the narrative in 2 Kings 16

about the plot of the kings of Damascus and Samaria to force Jerusalem into an anti-Assyrian alliance. Isaiah 7 has the prophet warning the king against his plans of seeking an alliance with Assyria, whereas 2 Kings has the king immediately submitting to the Assyrian king.

The interference of the Deuteronomistic editing of the Isaiah collection is so much more in evidence in Isaiah 36–39 which is an extract of the similar story in 2 Kings 18–19. It is thus obvious that a Deuteronomistic presence in the Book of Isaiah cannot be denied. It does not, on the other hand, suggest that the basic editing was Deuteronomistic.⁵ It does, however, say that Deuteronomistic editors found whatever they assumed to be by the hand of Isaiah of value for their project, to use the Book of Isaiah to illustrate their point formulated in Kings, that the true salvation of Jerusalem and its inhabitants should not be sought among foreign nations but in the worship of the God of Israel alone. Here 2 Kings 18–19 provides the example of right behavior in a crisis, and Jerusalem is saved from destruction.

That a Deuteronomistic hand was heavily engaged in the editing of the present Book(s)⁶ of Jeremiah seems evident although the exact character and purpose of this editing is far from self-evident. That a number of hands were active in the composition of the book has been clear since the days of Duhm and Mowinckel, and Thiel clearly demonstrated the heavy involvement of the deuteronomists in the fabrication of the book.

So far Deuteronomistic involvement seems unproblematic. More recently the purpose of this editing has provoked discussion, and understandably so.⁷ While the Deuteronomistic involvement in Isaiah is undisputed, although done with a heavy hand by the inclusion of whole sections of Kings in the prophetic book thus establishing a case for the Deuteronomistic dogma of putting one's faith in Yahweh and not in human agents, the purpose of the editing of Jeremiah is less clear. As has been noted, we find no similar reference to the activities of Jeremiah in 2 Kings but only in Chronicles as an explanation for the fate of Jerusalem, because Zedekiah had not paid attention to the words of Jeremiah (2 Chron 36:12). Moreover there are a couple of references at the end of Chronicles to Jeremiah's prophecy mentioning the end of the exile after 70 years (2 Chron 36:21–22; cf. Jer 29:10). We may argue on the basis of these references in Chronicles that the editors of Chronicles may have had a different view of Jeremiah than current among the historiographers behind Kings. He is quoted as an authority but not as a witness to the fall of the kingdom of Judah.

The strange discrepancy between the description of the last years of the kingdom of Judah in 2 Kings and in Jeremiah, and especially the lack of references to the reign of Josiah, including any reference to his reform, so close to the heart of the deuteronomist historians, might indicate a hand which is writing in a Deuteronomistic style and exposing Deuteronomistic ideas behind the present Book of Jeremiah that was different from the historiographers who put the Deuteronomistic History together.

There is no doubt that the editing is Deuteronomistic and that Mowinckel's 'C' stratum is basically Deuteronomistic. Still, it is a legitimate question to ask: "why is Jeremiah not mentioned in 2 Kings?"

Probably every Old Testament scholar who has taught the history of Israel to his or her students have imprinted in their minds that Jerusalem was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar in 587/6. The dates provided by 2 Kings 25, that the Babylonians arrived in front of the city in Zedekiah's ninth year, on the tenth day in the tenth month (2 Kgs 25:1), that the city fell to the Babylonians on the ninth day in the fourth month in the 11th year (2 Kgs 25:3), and that Nebuzaradan burned the temple to the ground on the seventh day in the fifth month (2 Kgs 25:8) has obtained an almost sacrosanct status.

These events are also dated in Jeremiah 39. Nebuchadnezzar arrived at Jerusalem in Zedekiah's ninth year in the tenth month (Jer 39:1). Also according to Jeremiah, Nebuchadnezzar did not conquer the city before the ninth day in the fourth month in Zedekiah's 11th year (Jer 39:2). We may wonder why it took the Babylonians almost one and a half years to bring this minor Levantine city down? Ten years before the Babylonian campaign against Hatti (the conventional name for southern Syria) began when Nebuchadnezzar mustered his army at home and marched it off to Hatti in November or December (in the month of Kislev), and the city of Judah was captured already in February (second day of Adar).⁸ The siege itself must have been very short, as the Babylonian army could hardly have reached Jerusalem before the beginning of January when we take the distance and the time of the year into consideration. It is as if Nebuchadnezzar could have quoted a famous Roman: "Veni, vidi, vici". But the second time when we have no external evidence in the form of Babylonian sources, the Babylonians are supposed to have spent almost 18 months before Jerusalem! So what came first, the note about the length of Zedekiah's reign, or the date for the fall of Jerusalem?

Chronicles adds nothing to this question but only has very vague dates for Nebuchadnezzar's campaign (2 Chronicles 36). A discrepancy is that the text in Jeremiah 39 says nothing about the destruction of the temple or about its treasures being brought to Babylon. It only mentions the burning of the royal palace and ordinary people's houses, and then the removal of the party in Jerusalem that had been favorable to the Babylonian cause (Jer 39:8–10).

However, the final chapter of Jeremiah, Jeremiah 52, gets matters right – or so it seems. It is clearly an amendment to the notes about the fall of Jerusalem in chapter 39. Again we have the note about the duration of Zedekiah's reign, 11 years (Jer 52:1), and the information that Nebuchadnezzar began the siege in Zedekiah's ninth regnal year, on the tenth day in the tenth month, and that the city fell to the Babylonians in Zedekiah's 11th year, on the ninth day in the fourth month (Jer 52:5–6). On the tenth day in the fifth month Nebuzaradan duly burned the temple to the ground and carried its treasures away. 2 Kings said that it happened on the seventh day in the same month (2 Kgs 25:8–9).

Somehow it seems that Jeremiah 52 was written by a hand very similar to the one active in 2 Kings 25, and may be considered a correction to Jeremiah 29 where the burning of the temple was not mentioned at all. However, why then the different dates of the destruction of the temple? In 2 Kings it happened on the seventh day in the fifth month, but in Jeremiah 52 on the tenth day in the fifth month. A difference of three days may seem immaterial. This cannot be the case. It was the most important part of the Babylonian conquest, the end of the temple

of Israel's God. Burning a temple means the same as the destruction of the abode of the god living there, who is then homeless until his temple is rebuilt. Apart from this Jeremiah 52 looks like a correction to Jeremiah 29, a correction including a reference to the events surrounding Jerusalem's fall that is very similar to the version found in 2 Kings 25. Will there be any explanation for this correction? After all, it would have been easier to just correct the version in Jeremiah 29.

We can only guess why this not very elegant editorial maneuver took place. More than 30 years ago Frederick H. Cryer presented an interesting discussion of them (Cryer 1987). Cryer's conclusion is that "all three of the textual traditions . . . represent chronological idealizations of the events in question" (1987: 25). Cryer presupposed an intricate and at the same time sophisticated system of calculation behind the dates presented which says (1) that the Hebrew authors had no real information about the exact date of the destruction and (2) that their dating was influenced by Near Eastern systems of calculating time. Then the question why Jeremiah 29 was not just corrected? It might have to do with the medium, the scroll. It is not very easy to make extensive corrections to a scroll. It would probably normally have demanded a new scroll being written including the changes. And scrolls were extremely expensive and probably not that easy to acquire. A much easier solution would be simply to add to the existing scroll.

We thus have four descriptions of the end of the kingdom of Judah, in 2 Kings 25, in Chronicles 36, in Jeremiah 29, and Jeremiah 52, none of them absolutely identical. 2 Kings 25 and Jeremiah 52 are close with only minor although not insignificant differences (the date of the burning of the temple). Jeremiah 52 may have been added to the prophetic Book of Jeremiah to amend the mistakes – or so it was probably seen at the time of the inclusion of Jeremiah 52 – of Jeremiah 29, especially the missing reference to the burning of the temple and the removal of its treasures, the last element being the most important as it allows for the assertion in Ezra 1:7–11 that Cyrus donated these treasures to the people who were returning to Jerusalem, to be placed in their rebuilt temple.

Now we have the following 'facts':

- 1 A Book of Jeremiah definitely edited by scholars well versed in Deuteronomistic theology and writing in a Deuteronomistic style. Without ignoring the many problems of redaction we may still argue – following among others Robert Carroll – that the person or persons who brought the textual material together found in Jeremiah 'created' this prophet, or at least collected his heritage into a not all-too-coherent assembly of prophetic texts and commentaries.
- 2 A Deuteronomistic History which this author in spite of all traces of secondary redactions still holds to be a uniform work displaying a certain and easily identifiable basic theology.
- 3 A second history, Chronicles, evidently based on the Deuteronomistic History (as any translator of the Old Testament will know, making the job of translating Chronicles an easy one as most of it can be copied from the translation of the Deuteronomistic History⁹).

It does not seem that the historiographers behind Kings paid any attention to Jeremiah, not in the same way as happened to Isaiah. However, when the Book of Jeremiah became known, probably produced more or less at the same time as Kings but by editors not directly in contact with the Deuteronomistic historiographers but sharing their basic ideology, it was seen to include a most important account of the last years of the Kingdom of Judah. Before it could fulfill its destiny to become the prophetic correlate to the historical account in Kings, it, however, had to be edited once more, simply by adding the end to the Book of Jeremiah bringing it in (almost) complete concord with the text of 2 Kings. The editors of Chronicles did not take part in this, having glossed over any difference they might have known of by the very vague description of the fall of Jerusalem, most likely because the destruction of Jerusalem was not central to their reconstruction of history; it was the reestablishment of the Jewish society after the catastrophe ending the time of the kings of Judah.

The conclusion may be that the collection of prophecies and poems attributed to the prophet Jeremiah (Carroll's verdict) went through more than one hand belonging to the Deuteronomistic school of thought. In this way Jeremiah the prophet was the creation of this school. Although basically Deuteronomistic, the collection was, at first, not seen by the Deuteronomistic historiographers as supporting their version of the last years of Judah. However, when 'Jeremiah' became known to tradition as is clear from the mentioning of the prophet in Chronicles, he was, in the Deuteronomistic tradition, reactivated but not before small matters, like chronology, were corrected and the information in Jeremiah was brought into line with that found in the Deuteronomistic History.

None of this can be used to date either the Book of Jeremiah or the inclusion of this prophet in support of the idea of history in the Deuteronomistic History. Jeremiah cannot be used to date deuteronomism, nor can he be used as an independent witness of the time of the Babylonian conquest. But we can safely say that in the book's final version, including the very end to his book in chapter 52, the Book of Jeremiah seemed fit to represent the important issue in the Deuteronomistic History that Yahweh warned Israel repeatedly by sending his prophets, or as I have previously expressed it: the Deuteronomistic History and the prophetic literature (at least in parts) are two sides of the same coin. The history tells us what happened and why it happened and the prophetic books that Israel was warned, that there was no excuse to Israel's transgressions directed against its God (Lemche 2008: 219, 269).

In this way we can answer the question introducing this study: "did Jeremiah save the history of ancient Israel?" He did not!

A final note on Carroll and his successor in the *Old Testament Library*

The impetus for writing these notes about Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic tradition came from the strange fate of Robert Carroll's Jeremiah commentary. In its time it was without any doubt the most interesting among modern commentaries

on this prophetic book. Well, it took only a few years after its author's premature death in 2001 before it was substituted in the series *Old Testament Library* by a new commentary by Leslie C. Allen (2008). 'New' is probably too much to say, as Allen's commentary does not represent anything new in comparison to its predecessor. It is quite traditional and does not really contribute much to the advance of critical studies in Jeremiah. Maybe it was also the reason why it was published, in order to silence the much more advanced critical approach to Jeremiah in Carroll's commentary. In general, the commentaries in the series *Old Testament Library* provide respectable information about biblical books written by respectable scholars and representing respectable ideas about the Bible, but it would be wrong to say that they act as spearheads in Old Testament scholarship or, to put it another way, that the *OTL* is 'cutting edge' scholarship. Happily David Clines was able to republish Carroll's commentary so that it is still in print in spite of being banished from the *Old Testament Library* series (Carroll 2006). It remains by far the most advanced study on the Book of Jeremiah in existence.

Notes

- 1 Mowinckel returned to his analysis of the Jeremiah text in his introduction to his translation of Jeremiah in Mowinckel and Messel (1944: 284–96).
- 2 The historicity of Baruch seemed confirmed when *bullae* carrying his name were found in Jerusalem. However, these *bullae* seem to be fakes, another example of the unscrupulous exploitation of rich, believing people who are easily persuaded to part with their money when tempted by seemingly sensational findings from Palestine.
- 3 The translation is without doubt smothering out the difficulties presented by the first reference to Josiah and the second to Jehoiakim and Zedekiah. The problem is not the two last kings of Judah but the first. There is practically no reference in the Book of Jeremiah to Josiah. His reform is non-existent, as it is not mentioned at all. It is hardly so that the reference to Jehoiakim and Zedekiah is secondary. Rather it is so that it is the reference to Josiah which seems odd in this connection. It is as if it represents a second thought among the editors: in Kings, Josiah is such an important king that he must be mentioned at the dating of the prophetic book that related to events which should – but do not – refer to Josiah's time.
- 4 Most poignantly commented on in Carroll (1986: 91).
- 5 Of course this is not the place to go into details but it is no secret that the complexity of the redaction history of the Book of Isaiah is second to none and has much more to say about the status of traditional material perhaps attributed to a certain person when editors got their hands on it. We have a fairly extended series of poems in the first part of Isaiah that has no traces of Deuteronomistic editing, then we have the Deuteronomistic interference into the book. But the Book as we have it includes also prophecies and poems from a totally different hand in Isaiah 40–66, and finally we have the little 'apocalypse' (Isa 24–27) which may belong among the youngest passages in the Old Testament at large, not older than the second century BCE. The only thing we can say for sure is that the collection presented as the Book of Isaiah is older than the Isaiah scrolls among the Dead Sea Scrolls where the complete scroll, 1QIsa^a, as well as the fragmentary scroll 1QIsa^b, both includes all the different sections or fragments of them. The principal collection of these fragments is Ulrich (2013). For a study on Jeremiah and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Brooke (1997).
- 6 Books if you reckon with the possibility of more editions, one of them translated into Greek and included in the Septuagint.

- 7 For a general introduction to scholarship, see Römer (2007), and the recent introduction by Crouch (2017).
- 8 According to the Babylonian chronicle, cf. Grayson (2000: 102).
- 9 This was in fact what happened when we made the official Danish translation that was published in 1992. The translation of Kings was simply copied to the translation of Chronicles and the few discrepancies reviewed and retranslated.

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4 Jeremiah and the ark¹

Thomas Römer

The ark in the Hebrew Bible – an overview

In The Torah, the ark is mentioned for the first time² in the Book of Exodus (Exodus 25–31 and 35–40), in relation to the construction of the mobile sanctuary. We then find it in Lev 16:2 and six times in the Book of Numbers: three times it is mentioned as part of the mobile sanctuary, and three times as a guide for the people during the desert wandering (Num 10:33 and 35) and in war (Num 14:44). In the Book of Deuteronomy, the ark is mentioned in chapters 10 and 31. Deuteronomy 10 reads like an alternative narrative of the ark's construction to that of Exodus 25–40. The texts in Deuteronomy emphasize the idea that the ark contained the two tablets of the Law.

The ark appears in all the books of the Former Prophets. In the conquest accounts of the Book of Joshua, it plays a prominent role in the story of the crossing of the Jordan, where it is carried by the priests (Joshua 3–4). It is further mentioned in the narrative about the walls of Jericho (Joshua 6), and also once in Josh 7:6. It does not appear, however, in the other conquest narratives. In the Book of Joshua, the last mention of the ark occurs in 8:33, in a ceremony of blessing and cursing. Here it is related to the Levites, as is also the case in Deuteronomy. The Book of Judges contains only a short note about the ark, according to which it was located at Bethel in the time of the Judges (Judg 20:27).

In the Books of Samuel, however, the ark is found in the sanctuary of Shiloh. 1 Sam 4:1–7:1 contains a long story commonly referred to as the 'ark narrative'. This narrative recounts how the Philistines captured the ark and placed it in the sanctuary of their god Dagan. However, the power of the ark was so strong that the Philistines gave it back. Once back in Israel, the ark did not return to Shiloh but remained in Kiriath Jearim for 20 years (1 Sam 7:2). It is then briefly mentioned in the story of the battle of Saul and Jonathan against the Philistines in 1 Sam 14:18³ (where the ark seems to be located in Gibeon of Benjamin). 2 Samuel 6, often considered to be the conclusion of the ark narrative, depicts David's transfer of the ark to Jerusalem. The ark later appears in 2 Samuel 7 where David wants to build a house for YHWH and the ark dwelling under a tent (vv. 1–2). In 2 Sam 11:1 Uriah mentions the ark as placed in a hut (*sukkā*) in the context of a war against the Ammonites. In 2 Samuel 15 the priest Zadok appears with the Levites as having the charge of carrying the ark (vv. 24–29).

In Kings, the ark is mentioned in the story of Solomon's rise and in the construction of the temple (1 Kings 2–8). Once the temple is completed, Solomon introduces the ark into the Holy of Holies. Then, astonishingly, the ark disappears from the Book of Kings⁴ and no further information is provided about it and its fate during the fall of Jerusalem.

In the Latter Prophets, the ark only appears in the Book of Jeremiah in an oracle which demands that the audience cease to commemorate the lost ark or to construct a new one (Jer 3:16).

In the Writings, the authors of Chronicles seem particularly interested in the 'ark of the covenant of Yhwh'; they even add new passages about the ark which do not figure in the Books of Samuel and Kings. Outside Chronicles, there is however only one mention of the Ark:⁵ namely, in Ps 132:8, which mentions the ark in the context of a saying that possibly alludes to its entry into Jerusalem.

This 'synchronic' overview shows an interesting fact: on a 'chronological' level the narratives in Exodus – Kings and Chronicles (as well as Ps 132) – cover a period from the construction of the ark under Moses in the wilderness until its placement in the Jerusalemite temple under Solomon.⁶ Nothing is said about the ark during the time of the Judean monarchy. It simply vanishes.

In this respect Jer 3:14–18 is of major interest. This is the only text in the Hebrew Bible where a prophet speaks about the ark and claims that the ark of Yhwh shall not be rebuilt anymore. This oracle apparently presupposes that the ark had been lost in one way or another.

What is the function of this oracle, and why is Jeremiah the only prophet who is credited with an oracle about the ark, and how are we to understand the prohibition to build a new ark?

Jer 3:14–18 in its context

Jer 3:14–18 is located in Jer 2:1–4:4, a collection of prophetic oracles. Many scholars claim that parts of these oracles were originally addressed (by the 'historical' Jeremiah) to the population of the former kingdom of Israel, and were, later, during the Babylonian or Persian period, revised and transformed into oracles that explain the fall of Judah and the Babylonian exile.⁷

According to 3:12, the following oracles are meant to be addressed to the 'North' (צפון), and since 3:14 do not contain any new introduction; the sayings in 3:14–18, according to the redactors of the book, should have the same addressees.

The unit 3:14–18 can be translated as follows:⁸

¹⁴ Return, sons that turned away, oracle of Yhwh, for I am your baal; I will take you, one from a city and two from a clan, and I will bring you to Zion.

¹⁵ I will give you shepherds after my own heart, who will shepherd you with knowledge and understanding.

¹⁶ And it will happen that you multiply and increase in the land, in those days, oracle of Yhwh, one will not say any more, 'The ark of the covenant of Yhwh.' It shall not come to mind, or be remembered, or missed. It will not be made again.

¹⁷ At that time Jerusalem shall be called the throne of Yhwh, and all nations shall gather to it – to Yhwh's name to Jerusalem⁹ – and they shall no follow the stubbornness of their evil mind.

¹⁸ In those days the house of Judah shall walk alongside the house of Israel, and together they shall come from the land of the north (צפון) to the land that I gave your fathers¹⁰ for a heritage.

There is an ongoing debate whether this passage is Jeremianic, Deuteronomistic, or post-dtr.¹¹ The language of the passage presupposes dtr terminology but also the priestly expression 'to multiply and to increase' (פָּרַח וּרְבָה v. 16).¹² In its present form, the oracle is conceived to fit between Jer 3:13 and 3:19 because it takes up numerous expressions and themes from the foregoing and following passages (Rudolph 1947: 27; Römer 1990: 472).

There are several indications that the passage is composite and was possibly composed in several steps. The original unit consisted of vv. 14–15, and could have been very well followed originally by verses 19ff in which the key words of vv. 14–15 are taken up again (Craigie et al. 1991: 59).

The saying about the ark in vv. 16–17¹³ and the promise of the unification of Israel and Judah in v. 18 may have been added in several steps. The question then is whether all of these additions are *Fortschreibungen* of later redactors or whether some of these oracles preserve memories of Jeremianic oracles.

Contrary to the other oracles in vv. 14–18, the saying about the ark has no clear links with the immediate literary context. Does this oracle (vv. 16–17*¹⁴) conserve a memory of a saying of the prophet Jeremiah, as argued by Weinfeld, Cazelles, and others?¹⁵ But would such a statement about the ark really fit the time of Jeremiah? In order to respond to this question we need to turn to the historical question of when the ark arrived in Jerusalem.

The transfer of the ark to Jerusalem

According to the biblical narrative, it was David who brought the ark to Jerusalem, and Solomon, who introduced it into the temple. Curiously, however, once the ark is placed in the Holy of Holies, the Books of Kings never mentions it again. This observation needs some explanation. The transfer of the ark to Jerusalem in 2 Samuel 6 was considered by Rost as the conclusion of the so-called ark narrative, which according to him was based on historical events (Rost 1926). Rost's theory has however been challenged in several ways. First of all the idea that 2 Samuel 6 should be the original ending of the ark narrative was questioned quite early. Several scholars¹⁶ have highlighted the differences between the ark narrative in 1 Sam 4:1–7:1* and the transfer story in 2 Samuel 6. The most important arguments are the following: (1) if 2 Samuel 6 was the direct follow up of 1 Sam 7:1, David would appear without any introduction. (2) The names differ: 1 Samuel 7 mentions Eleazar as Abinadab's son; 2 Samuel 6 speaks about Uzza and Ahio. (3) In 1 Samuel 4–6 the ark is identified with Yhwh and acting directly; in 2 Samuel 6 the ark is more a cultic symbol. (4) The style and the vocabulary of 1 Samuel

4–6 on the one hand and 2 Samuel 6 on the other are quite different. Both units only share four of the 54 words and expressions that Rost considered to be typical for the so-called ark narrative (Schäfer-Lichtenberger 1995: 328). That means that the original ark narrative ended with the establishment of a new shrine for the ark in Kiriath Jearim. The original story would then be a *hieros logos* of Kiriath Jearim, the new shrine of the ark. Recent excavations conducted by the university of Tel Aviv and the Collège de France at Deir El-Azar (the modern name of Kiriath Jearim)¹⁷ have made it plausible that there was an artificial podium on the top of the hill that was probably constructed in the first half of the eighth century BCE and may have hosted a sanctuary on a location where a Byzantine church had been built later, the mosaics of which are still visible in the modern basilica.¹⁸ Considering this date and the fact that similar monumental platforms are known in the Northern Kingdom (Finkelstein 2013: 85–105) but do not exist in Judah, and given the Northern reality behind the original ark narrative, Israel Finkelstein and I have recently suggested that the monumental platform at Kiriath Jearim could have been built in the days of Jeroboam II. At this time Kiriath Jearim was, similar to Bethel, a ‘border sanctuary’ located in the territory of Benjamin and under control of Jeroboam.¹⁹ In this case 2 Samuel 6 should not be considered as preserving a historical memory about the transfer of the ark from Kiriath Jearim to Jerusalem, but as a composition from the time of Josiah.

A prophet from Kiriath Jearim (Jer 26:20–23)

If the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem and the closing of the sanctuary of Kiriath Jearim happened only in the last decades of the kingdom of Judah, one could easily understand the fact that in Jer 26:20–23 a prophet from Kiriath Jearim, named Uriah, appears in Jerusalem and is presented as a colleague of Jeremiah:

There was another man prophesying in the name of Yhwh, Uriah son of She-maiah from Kiriath Jearim. He prophesied against this city and²⁰ against this land according all the words of Jeremiah of Jeremiah.

(Jer 26:20)

The name Uriah is quite popular in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE²¹ and there is no reason to doubt that such a prophet really existed. The additional characterization through the name of his father indicates that the author of the passage wished to distinguish this prophet from other people (prophets?) bearing the same name.

The information about a prophet from Kiriath Jearim acting in Jerusalem makes sense if the sanctuary of this place had been closed not such a long time before. There is no agreement about the date of the passage Jer 26:20–23.²² The account of this prophet killed by the Judahite king may prepare readers for the post-dtr idea of the violent death of Yhwh’s servants, the prophets,²³ and may have been inserted into Jeremiah 26 at a later editorial stage (Gerald L. Keown et al. 1995: 29–30; McKane 1996: 675), preserving, however, some historical memories about a prophet from the ancient sanctuary of the ark.²⁴

The statement that Uriah is speaking like Jeremiah refers in the context of Jeremiah 26 to Jeremiah's announcement of the destruction of Jerusalem, which he compares in Jeremiah 7 and 26 to the destruction of Shiloh. This comparison of the fate of Jerusalem with the fate of Shiloh is clearly a hint of the ark tradition, since according to 1 Samuel 4 Shiloh was the first sanctuary of the ark.²⁵

From Shiloh to Jerusalem

According to Jeremiah 7, Shiloh was the place where Yhwh made his name dwell first. The destruction of Jerusalem compares, according to Jer 7:12–14, to Yhwh's abandonment of Shiloh:

¹² Go now to my place that was in Shiloh, where I made my name dwell in the beginning, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel.

¹³ And now, because you have done all these things, oracle of Yhwh, and when I spoke to you persistently, you did not listen, and when I called you, you did not answer, ¹⁴ therefore I will do to the house that is called by my name, in which you trust, and to the place that I gave to you and to your fathers, just what I did to Shiloh.

Jer 7:1–15 stems from a Deuteronomistic redactor of the Book of Jeremiah, but might keep the memory of an older Jeremianic announcement of the destruction of the temple.²⁶ One may indeed ask whether the Deuteronomists would have invented a comparison of the fate of the sanctuary of Shiloh and the temple of Jerusalem, or whether such a comparison stems from the original temple speech. In any case the Deuteronomists of the books of Jeremiah, but also those who edited the Books of Samuel and Kings, accepted the idea that Yhwh, before the temple of Jerusalem, chose the Northern shrine of Shiloh as his dwelling place. This succession of Shiloh and Jerusalem can be explained by the presence of the ark in both sanctuaries.

The archeological situation of Shiloh is somewhat unclear. A sanctuary has not been discovered yet. According to Finkelstein's excavation the site was abandoned or destroyed (by the Philistines?) in the middle of the 11th century BCE and then sparsely repopulated during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE (Finkelstein 1992: 1069–72; cf. also Finkelstein and Brandl 1993). The current excavations, the results of which are not yet published, seem to expose an increasing activity on the site during the Assyrian period.²⁷ In any case the mention of Shiloh in the context of Jeremiah 7 and 26, and also Psalm 78:59–60, makes better sense if something happened there during the eighth or seventh centuries BCE.²⁸ Jer 7:12 indicates that in the time of Jeremiah (or somewhat later) one could still visit the ruins of Shiloh, and Jer 41:5 mentions men from Shechem, Shiloh,²⁹ and Samaria on their way to bring vegetal offerings to the (destroyed) temple of Yhwh in Jerusalem.³⁰

It is probably because of the mentions of Shiloh in Jeremiah 7 and 26 that the saying about the ark in Jer 3:16–17 was integrated into the Book of Jeremiah.

Jer 3:16–17: The ark shall not be rebuilt

Neither 2 Kings nor 2 Chronicles provide any information about what happened to the ark after the destruction of the Jerusalemite temple. For that reason some scholars have argued that the ark had been destroyed by former kings such as Manasseh (Haran 1963: 46–58) or others.³¹ The most plausible hypothesis however is that the ark disappeared during the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians. Since it does not figure among the objects of the temple that the Persians gave back to the Judeans (Ezra 1:7–11; 5:13–15) one should not imagine that the ark was taken as booty to Babylon³² but that it was destroyed during the burning down of the temple (Enstrom and van Dyk 1997: 50–60; Day 2005: 267–70).

In its present form this saying (Jer 3:16–17) presupposes the early Persian period. It probably reflects a discussion about the reconstruction of the ark for the second temple. Apparently there existed an important group that was in favor of rebuilding the lost ark (Schäfer-Lichtenberger 2000: 235). This is especially the case of the ‘priestly school’,³³ which in Exodus 25–31 and 35–40 describes the tabernacle in the wilderness as foreshadowing the (second) Jerusalemite temple (Utzschneider 1988: 280–97). In the building instructions as well as in the construction account the ark plays an important role. In Exodus 25 the ark is covered by a kapporet (Nihan 2007: 44–50) that is protected by two cherubs. This may be understood as a priestly reinterpretation of the cherubs in the first temple who protected the throne of Yhwh. In any case, the idea to have the (new) ark associated with cherubs triggered an opposition to its rebuilding³⁴ as well as the souvenir that the first ark contained a representation of Yhwh (Römer forthcoming). Such iconic concepts were not compatible any longer with the rise of aniconism in the Persian period.

The refusal of the fabrication of the ark triggered the saying in Jer 3:17 according to which the city of Jerusalem shall become the throne of (the now invisible) Yhwh. The insertion of the oracle about the ark that shall not be rebuilt into the Book of Jeremiah can be explained by the allusions to the ark in the mention of Shiloh in Jer 7 and 26, as well as by the episode of the prophet Uriah from Kiriath Jearim in 26:20–23. In its present form 3:16–17 is to be dated to the time of the construction of the second temple.³⁵ One cannot exclude the possibility that the oracle is based on an older saying addressed to the inhabitants of the former Northern Kingdom.³⁶ In this case one could understand it as an exhortation not to mourn the disappearance of the ark from the North (Kiriath Jearim?) but to accept the fact that the ark is now in Jerusalem. However, the original wording of such an oracle cannot be reconstructed anymore,³⁷ so that we should primarily understand Jer 3:16–17 in the context of the reconstruction of the temple in the Persian period.

The idea of Jer 3:16–17 that the ark was definitively lost was however not unanimously accepted. 2 Maccabees 2 referring to a ‘book of Jeremiah’ (v. 1)³⁸ tells that Jeremiah hid the ark together with other vessels of the temple:

⁴ It was also contained in the same writing, how the prophet, being warned by God, commanded that the tabernacle and the ark should accompany him, ill

he came forth to the mountain where Moses went up, and saw the inheritance of God.⁵ And when Jeremiah came there he found a hollow cave: and he put in there the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense, and closed the door.⁶ Then some of them that followed him, came up to mark the place: but they could not find it.⁷ And when Jeremiah perceived it, he blamed them, saying: The place shall be unknown, till God gather together the congregation of the people, and receive them to mercy.⁸ Then the Lord will disclose these things, and the glory of the Lord and the cloud will appear, as they were shown in the case of Moses, and as Solomon asked that the place should be specially consecrated.

(2 Macc 2:4–8)

The fact that 2 Maccabees attributes the hiding of the ark to the prophet Jeremiah may be explained by the idea attested in rabbinic discussions that king Josiah hid the ark (B. Yoma 52b; cf. Weinfeld 1976: 23–4), or probably better as a relecture of Jer 3:16–17: there is indeed no need to rebuild the ark because the prophet Jeremiah himself has hidden it! The idea of the appearance of the ark at the end of time is taken up in Rev 11:19 and also in Islamic hadiths. Up to the present, speculations continue about the hidden place of the ark.³⁹ But that is another story.

Notes

- 1 I would like to dedicate this essay to the memory of Gary Knoppers, a good friend and an esteemed colleague who passed away all too soon on December 22, 2018.
- 2 Gen 50:26 mentions the term '*arôn*' in order to designate the box in which the Israelites should transport Joseph's bones.
- 3 According to the MT; LXX has '*ephod*'.
- 4 The mention of an '*arôn*' in 2 Kgs 12:10–11 does not refer to the ark, but a chest for collecting money.
- 5 It has sometimes been argued that Ps 24:7–10 as well as 47:6, which speak about Yhwh's entering into Jerusalem or his elevation, also allude to his presence in the ark. Lam 2:1 (mentioning Yhwh's '*footstool*') has also be considered as alluding to the ark (see Metzger 1985: 359). These are however extrapolations since there is no mention of the ark (see Maier 1965: 68, 77–80).
- 6 There is only one exception to which we will return in the following: in 2 Chr 35:3 (a verse that has no parallel in Kings) Josiah tells the Levites that they do not need to carry the ark any more.
- 7 For an overview see Albertz (1982: 20–47), Wanke (1995: 16–17).
- 8 The translation is based on NRSV with some personal modifications.
- 9 The expression in brackets, missing in LXX*, is a gloss that wants to specify where the nations will gather.
- 10 LXX and other manuscripts have a third masc. pl. form, which is certainly a harmonization. Since v. 18 refers back to v. 14, the second person makes perfect sense; cf. Römer (1990: 471).
- 11 See also the overview in Soggin (1997: 215–21).
- 12 Therefore Thiel considers the passage as '*post-dtr*' (Thiel 1973: 91–3). Cf. also Werner (1997: 66–8). For a postexilic date cf. also Wanke (1995: 52–4).
- 13 One may also speculate whether the verses 16 and 17 did belong together from the very beginning or whether the saying about the ark in v. 16 was originally an independent

- unit. The sayings in v. 16 and v. 18 are introduced by the expression בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה whereas v. 17 is introduced by בְּעֵת הַהִיא, which would indicate that v. 17 was added later to verse 16 as argued by Wanke (1995: 54–5) and Werner (1997: 67–8). For another opinion cf. Levin (1985: 190), who considers 3:16–17 to be the last *Fortschreibung* of the passage.
- 14 If v. 16 is a Jeremican oracle it would have started with ‘in those days’. The foregoing sentence which reminds of priestly language would then be an addition, cf. Cazelles (1968: 147–58).
- 15 Cazelles (1968), Weinfeld (1976: 19–26), cf. also Weiser (1952: 30–1), Craigie et al. (1991: 59–60).
- 16 See already Wellhausen (1963: 238), Schicklberger (1973: 13–17), Miller and Roberts (1977: 18–26), Porzig (2009: 134–5, 161–2).
- 17 The modern name may keep the memory of Eleazar who according to 1 Sam 7:1 became the first priest of the sanctuary.
- 18 For more details cf. Finkelstein (Finkelstein et al. 2018: 31–83).
- 19 There is some hesitation in the lists of the Book of Joshua about whether Kiriath Jearim belongs to Benjamin or to Judah; for more details cf. Finkelstein et al. (2018: 35).
- 20 ‘Against this city’ is missing in LXX. This may be due to haplography, cf. Janzen (1973: 119). For the opposite idea according to which the references to the ‘city’ should be considered a proto-Masoretic revision, cf. Stipp (1994: 103).
- 21 Cf. Lundbom (2004: 296). He also points out that this Uriah cannot be identified with ‘the prophet’ mentioned in a letter from Lachish. For other occurrences of the name in the late monarchic period cf. Hodossy-Takács (2015: 130) with footnote 11.
- 22 For a discussion of different options cf. McKane (1996: 671–6).
- 23 See on this topic Steck (1967).
- 24 Rudolph (1947: 146–7). Hodossy-Takács (2015: 132–3) dates Uriah’s flight to Egypt and his capture there around 600 BCE.
- 25 Cf. already 1 Sam 3:3, a later insert that aimed at creating a link between Samuel and the ark.
- 26 The existence of dtr redactions in the Book of Jeremiah is nowadays very much disputed. All those who claim that the so-called dtr texts in Jeremiah are just imitations of dtr language still fail to explain the coherent dtr ideology that can be detected in most of those texts. In this regard I think that Thiel’s insights are still valid. Cf. further arguments for a dtr redaction in Jeremiah and especially in chapters 7 and 26 in Römer (2016: 124–31).
- 27 Oral communication from Israel Finkelstein.
- 28 Pearce (1973: 105–8) advocates an Assyrian destruction of the sanctuary. One may speculate whether before or after this destruction Jeroboam II took the ark from Shiloh and brought it to Kiriath Jearim. But here we were almost in the realm of science fiction.
- 29 LXX has ‘Salem’ which cannot be right.
- 30 Bloodless sacrifices fit to the fact that the temple and the altar were destroyed; cf. Lundbom (2004: 117–18) and Fischer (2005: 385–6).
- 31 For an overview of different theories see Day (2005: 250–70).
- 32 This idea can be found in the rabbinic discussion; cf. Schäfer-Lichtenberger (2000: 229–41, 239–40).
- 33 To which one may add the authors of Chronicles, which, as pointed out above, mention the ark more frequently than the Books of Kings.
- 34 Schäfer-Lichtenberger, “ ‘Sie wird nicht wieder hergestellt werden’ ” (2000: 240–1).
- 35 Usually dated around 525–520 BCE. For another proposal see Edelman (2005).
- 36 As argued especially by Cazelles (1968). See also Weiser (1952: 29–31).
- 37 One could follow Duhm (1901: 40), and translate v. 16 as an indirect discourse: “you shall not speak any more about the ark of Yhwh” (although Duhm attributed this passage to the postexilic time; see also Soggin [1997: 216–17]), but this does not help much.

- 38 This may be a reference to the *Epistula Ieremiae* or the *Apocalypse of Jeremiah*, cf. von Dobbeler (1997: 173).
- 39 See the article of Arnaud (2019: 36–8).

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5 Evidence for the dating of the Masoretic text of Jeremiah¹

Lisbeth S. Fried

According to both 2 Chronicles and Ezra, Jeremiah predicted the return to Judah and Jerusalem from Babylon:

וַיִּגְדַּל הַשְּׂאֵרִית מִן־הַחֲרָב אֶל־בָּבֶל וַיְהִי־לָו וּלְבָנָיו לַעֲבָדִים עַד־מָלְךְ מַלְכֵי פָּרָס:²⁰
לְמַלְאוֹת דְּבַר־יְהוָה בְּפִי יִרְמְיָהוּ עַד־רָצְתָה הָאָרֶץ אֶת־שְׁבֹתוֹתֶיהָ כְּלִי־מִי הַשְּׂמָה שְׁבֹתָהּ²¹
שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה: פ
וּבְשָׁנָת אַחַת לְכוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרָס לְקִלוֹת דְּבַר־יְהוָה בְּפִי יִרְמְיָהוּ הַעִיר יְהוָה אֶת־רִיחָהּ כְּוָרֶשׁ
מֶלֶךְ־פָּרָס²² וַיַּעֲבֵר־קוֹל בְּכָל־מַלְכוּתָו וְגַם־בַּמִּקְרָב לֵאמֹר: ס
כֹּה־אָמַר כְּוָרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרָס כָּל־מַמְלָכוֹת הָאָרֶץ גָּתוּ לִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהוּא־פָקַד עָלַי לְבָנוֹת־²³
לוֹ בַּיִת בִּירוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה מִי־בִכְּמִם מִכָּל־עַמּוֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ עִמּוֹ וְהָעַל:

²⁰ He exiled the remnant who had escaped from the sword to Babylon, and they became servants to him and to his sons until the establishment of the kingdom of Persia, ²¹ to fulfill YHWH's word by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had paid for its Sabbaths. All the days that it lay desolate it kept the Sabbath, to fulfill seventy years.

(2 Chron. 36:20–21)

²² And in the first year of Cyrus, King of Persia, at the fulfillment of YHWH's word from the mouth of Jeremiah, YHWH stirred up the spirit of Cyrus King of Persia who sent a herald throughout all his kingdom and also by writing – saying: ²³ ‘Thus says Cyrus, King of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth YHWH, god of heaven, has given me, and he has appointed me to build him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever among you of all his people, let his god, be with him! Let him go up’.

(2 Chr. 36:22–23 // Ezra 1:1–3a)

³ Let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judah and let him build the temple of YHWH the god of Israel (He is God!) which is in Jerusalem.

(Ezra 1:3b)

These verses exhibit the essential role that Jeremiah plays in the texts of both Chronicles and Ezra. They confirm that the advent of Cyrus, the return of Judeans

to Judah, and the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem were all predicted by the prophet and thus approved by God. The question for this article is whether Jeremiah's mention in Chronicles and Ezra can tell us anything interesting about the reception history of the text of Jeremiah itself.

The text of Jeremiah

Scholars have recognized that the Book of Jeremiah has had a long redaction history. The version of Jeremiah that is in the Septuagint (LXX) is shorter than that in the Masoretic text (MT) by one-seventh (Tov 1985: 212) and the chapters and even verses within the chapters are arranged differently in the two versions. Several Hebrew fragments found at Qumran agree with the LXX of Jeremiah (e.g., 4Q Jer^b) and thus confirm that the shorter LXX version of Jeremiah is based on a Hebrew *vorlage* (Tov 1985: 211). Because the Hebrew passages that overlap the Greek translate the Hebrew relatively literally, it is unlikely that the translator would have abridged the Hebrew text elsewhere (Tov 1985: 211). Scholars have concluded therefore that the shorter LXX text is an earlier and more original edition of the book (Tov 1985: 214). Thus, we must speak of two editions of the Book of Jeremiah, a first edition, expressed by the LXX, and a second revised edition, expressed by the MT. Each of these editions, the LXX no less than the MT, reveals strong Deuteronomistic editing and language, however, plus later redaction as well (Thiel 1973, 1981; McKane 1981; Carroll 1986; Allen 2008). As McKane stresses, "we are dealing with a long, complicated, untidy accumulation of material extending over a very long period to which many people have contributed" (McKane 1981: 228).

The theology of temple rebuilding

Can the references to Jeremiah in Chronicles and Ezra in particular shed any light on the composition history or the date of the book(s) of Jeremiah? I have previously suggested that the entire book Ezra-Nehemiah was not completed until the Ptolemaic period, at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century BCE, at the earliest (Fried 2015: 4–5). The reference to the last four high priests of the Persian period, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua in Neh 12:22, necessitates a date after Alexander in 323 BCE for the combined Book of Ezra-Nehemiah (see now the collected articles in Finkelstein 2018). I have also suggested, following Williamson (1985), that Ezra chapters 1–6 was the latest section to be added to the book and contains many Hellenistic additions (Fried 2015: 20–1).

Nevertheless, I have tried to demonstrate as well that the basis of Ezra 1–6 – the scaffolding upon which the Hellenistic additions were hung – was the second temple's actual temple building inscription and should be dated to 516 (Fried 2003: 33–8; 2015: 18–19, 62–7). As Victor Hurowitz has demonstrated, inscriptions commemorating the completion of a temple were ubiquitous in the ancient Near East (Hurowitz 1992), and Jerusalem's second temple would have had one

as well. This inscription would have been composed in 516 for the dedication of the temple (Fried 2015: 18–21). I suggest that this putative inscription still existed in the Hellenistic period, however, and formed the basis of the composition of Ezra 1–6.

That inscription, if it indeed existed, would have necessarily followed the pattern of all temple building inscriptions throughout the ancient Near East. This pattern, studied and outlined by Hurowitz in his study of Babylonian temple building inscriptions, expresses the theology of temple rebuilding after foreign conquest (Hurowitz 1992). Even though Ezra 1:1–2 repeats the two final verses in Chronicles, this may not be because the author of Ezra copied from Chronicles or that the Chronicler copied from Ezra, but rather that they each copied from a third source – the initial sections of the second temple’s actual building inscription. As outlined by Hurowitz, the initial components of the typical temple building inscription are as follows:

- A brief history of the temple – why it lay in ruins
- The decision to build
- The king receives a command from the god to build his temple
- A statement that the god has reconciled with his people or his city
- A statement that the king has clarified the divine will (through extispicy, divination, prophetic visions, etc.)
- A statement that a specific pre-ordained period of time has passed
- A statement that the god has returned to his temple

All these elements are included in the end of Chronicles and the first chapter of Ezra, suggesting that these initial passages of Ezra reflect the initial passages of the second temple’s actual building inscription, including the reference to the prophet Jeremiah.

A brief history of the temple – why it lay in ruins

This necessary first component of temple building inscriptions in the ancient Near East is fulfilled by the Chronicler through the long history of Judah that he relates in his books. It is not repeated or even alluded to in Ezra. The Book of Ezra begins with ו, ‘and’, however, suggesting that the text is a continuation from something previous, something akin to what is in Chronicles that describes how the temple came to be in ruins.

The decision to build

1 The king receives a command from the god to rebuild his temple

The first and most essential component of temple building inscription for temples destroyed through foreign conquest is a statement that the king, who alone has the power to rebuild it, has received a command from the god that he wants his temple

rebuilt. Both Chronicles and the Book of Ezra thus begin with the assurance of this divine command to the king (2 Chr. 36:23 // Ezra 1:2). The king is Cyrus, and he reports that YHWH has commanded him to rebuild his temple in Jerusalem. This fulfills this necessary component of temple rebuilding after conquest. Without this assurance that the king is not acting on his own, but has received a command from the god whose temple it is, the builders could not be assured that the temple would last. Realistically, and historically speaking, only the king who has the physical capability to rebuild the temple could make this statement.

2 A statement that the god has reconciled with his people

This direct statement is missing, although the reference to Jeremiah's predictions in both Ezra and Chronicles may have been intended to fulfill this crucial aspect of the temple-rebuilding template.

3 The king clarifies the divine will, often through prophetic pronouncements

Ancient Near Eastern temple building inscriptions often include a statement to the effect that the king has clarified the divine will that that the god has indeed reconciled with his people, that he wants his temple rebuilt, and that he will return to it when it stands. This often requires a prophetic affirmation. Chronicles and Ezra both affirm that Jeremiah had predicted that YHWH would 'stir up' the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia and command him to rebuild the temple:

וּבְשָׁנָה אֶחָת לְכוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרָס לְקוֹלֹת דְּבַר־יְהוָה מִפִּי יִרְמְיָה הַעֵיִר יְהוָה אֶת־רוּחַ כְּרֹשׁ מֶלֶךְ־פָּרָס :

In the first year of King Cyrus of Persia, in order to complete YHWH's word by the mouth of Jeremiah, YHWH stirred up the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia.
(Chron 36:22 // Ezra 1:1)

The text of Jeremiah nowhere refers to Cyrus by name, however, and even though Isaiah does refer to Cyrus, neither Ezra nor the Chronicler refers to that prophet. Jeremiah does predict, however, that YHWH will "stir up", or awaken, a land from the north to wreak vengeance for his people, his land, and his temple (Jer 50:9). In this verse Jeremiah predicts that YHWH will stir up against Babylon a company of nations that will conquer her:

כִּי הִנֵּה אֲנִי מַעִיר וּמַעֲלָה עַל־כָּל־קְהֵל־גּוֹיִם גְּדֹלִים מֵאַרְצֵי צָפוֹן וְנִעְרְכוּ לָהּ מִשָּׁם תִּלָּכְדָּהּ הָעִיר כְּגִבּוֹר מִשְׁפִּיל לֹא יָשׁוּב יִרְקָם

For, see, I am stirring up and bringing up against Babylon a company of great nations from the land of the north; and they shall array themselves against her; from there she shall be conquered. Their arrows are like the arrows of a skilled warrior who does not return empty.

(MT Jer 50:9)

This verse is also in the LXX, the so-called ‘first edition’ of Jeremiah:

Behold, I am stirring up against Babylon gatherings of nations from the land of the north, and they shall array themselves against her; from there she shall be conquered, as an arrow of a skilled warrior does not return empty.

(LXX Jer 27:9)

The fact that Jeremiah states that Babylon would be attacked and destroyed seems to have been used as proof by the author of Ezra and Chronicles that Jeremiah had revealed a truly divine word, that this was the time spoken of, that God’s anger had indeed passed, that he had reconciled with his people, and that the Judeans may now rebuild their temple.

Babylon’s mere destruction would not have been enough, however. The prophetic voice was necessary. Babylon’s destruction had to have been predicted beforehand by a *bona fide* prophet in order for there to be confidence in the temple building project. The fact of the predicted destruction of the Chaldeans at the hands of the Medes proves YHWH’s control, not only over the Judeans, but proves as well that his sovereignty extends over the entire world, and all the peoples in it (Carroll 1999: 79). The prophetic prediction coming true gives credence to the assumption that the temple’s rebuilding was sanctioned by God. Not only the temple’s rebuilding was predicted and so sanctioned, but also the return to Judah itself. Jeremiah had predicted that the Judeans would be able to ‘flee’ the Chaldeans because their destruction was ‘vengeance from YHWH, vengeance for his temple’ (MT Jer 51:6, 11 // LXX Jer 28:6, 11).

4 A certain predetermined span of time has been fulfilled

Proof of reconciliation between an angry god and his people is often connected in temple building inscriptions to the conclusion of a predetermined span of time (Hurowitz 1992: 141). Inscriptions from the time of Esarhaddon tell how Marduk had decreed that Babylon would lie in ruins for 70 years, but before this time had elapsed he had mercy on his city and by the trick of rotating the tablets of destiny and so reversing the numerical signs he was able to lighten the sentence to a mere 11 years (Hurowitz 1992: 141).

According to 2 Chronicles 36:21–23, but not according to Ezra, Jeremiah had predicted a specified predetermined length of time of 70 years in which the land would lie fallow. This period of 70 years of abandonment was to allow the land to make up its Sabbaths – the Sabbaths of the land that had not been kept over the centuries that the Judeans were in their land:

²⁰ He took into exile in Babylon those who had escaped from the sword, and they became servants to him and to his sons until the establishment of the kingdom of Persia, ²¹ to fulfill YHWH’s word by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had made up for its Sabbaths. All the days that it lay desolate it kept Sabbath, to fulfill seventy years.

(2 Chron 36:20–21)

The sabbatical years had evidently not been kept for 490 years, so Jeremiah is viewed by the Chronicler as having predicted a Sabbath of the land for 70 years to make up for it. (Phrases in italics are missing in the LXX.)

⁸ Therefore thus says YHWH of hosts: Because you have not obeyed my words. . . . ¹¹ For seventy years this whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall be in subjugation *to the king of Babylon*. ¹² Then after seventy years are completed, I will punish *the king of Babylon and that nation, the land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity*, says YHWH, making that land an everlasting waste.

(MT Jer 25:8, 11–12)

This period of 70 years refers first to the time of desolation of Judah and servitude [to Babylon, MT], and second, upon their completion, to the time of that nation's [i.e., Babylon's, MT] punishment for laying Judah waste (Applegate 1997). Jeremiah also refers to 70 years and to an exile in a second passage, a passage that promises, in addition, that upon the completion of these 70 years, God will bring the people Judah out of exile and back to their land:

כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה כִּי לִפִּי מְלֹאֵת לְבַבְךָ שְׁבָעִים שָׁנָה אֶפְקֹד אֶתְכֶם וְהִקְמַתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם אֶת־דְּבַרִּי הַשּׁוֹב לְהָשִׁיב אֶתְכֶם אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה

For thus says YHWH: Upon the completion for Babylon of seventy years I will take account of you, and I will fulfill to you my *good* promise and bring you back to this place.

(MT Jer 29:10 // LXX Jer 36:10)

This last reference to the 70 years is in the context of a letter to the exiles in Babylon. In the letter Jeremiah urges them to build houses, live in them, take wives, have children, and multiply there in Babylon. He begs them not to listen to prophets and diviners which suggest that they will be returning momentarily. Rather, it will be only after a very long time, 70 years, that God will fulfill his promise and bring them back. They are thus to make themselves at home in Babylon.

It seems likely therefore that the 70 years may not originally have referred to a specific length of time, but rather to a long time, a span of three or so generations when a man would see not only his children, but also his children's children, maybe the children of his children's children. It was only later, in the context of the actual return, that Jeremiah's reference to 70 years was recalled and given new meaning. That Ezra does not refer to a fixed period of 70 years suggests that 2 Chronicles and Ezra were based on independent sources and that Ezra was based on the earlier LXX version of Jeremiah.

5 The return of the cult statue, the proof that the god has reconciled with his people

Prophetic predictions alone were usually not adequate to convince the conquered populace that the god did indeed want his temple rebuilt. Unless the god, in

the form of his cult statue, was returned to his temple, then the temple was still viewed as abandoned by that god, and used as evidence that the god's anger had not yet been appeased (Hurowitz 1992). In the ancient Near East this meant that the conquerors that were in control of the god's cult statue had to return it to the conquered people before the temple could be rebuilt.

There was no point in rebuilding a temple if the god was not going to take up residence in it, and if the cult statue was not returned, then the god was not in residence. In the case of the temple in Jerusalem, which had an aniconic god, the role of the cult statue was played by the temple's vessels (Fried 2003; 2015: 28–32; Hurowitz, personal communication). These vessels indicate where YHWH was willing to set up housekeeping, as it were. Ezra 1:7–11 stresses that these cultic items were indeed returned, and emphasizes that they were the very items which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from YHWH's temple in Jerusalem years before:

King Cyrus had [ordered] brought out YHWH's temple vessels that Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem and placed in the house of his gods. Indeed, Cyrus King of Persia had Mithredates, the treasurer, bring them out and count them out to Sheshbazzar the prince (*Nasi*') of Judah.

(Ezra 1:7–8)

Even though Second Isaiah emphasizes the role of the vessels in manifesting YHWH's physical return to Jerusalem (Isaiah 52:8, 11–12; cf. Isa 40:3–5), neither the Chronicler nor the author of Ezra refers to that prophet. This is doubtless because Second Isaiah had not yet been written when the temple's building inscription, the basis of Ezra 1–6, was composed in 516.

It is odd, however, that neither the Chronicler nor Ezra refers to Jeremiah's numerous statements regarding the temple's vessels, even though they both knew Jeremiah and refer to it in other contexts. Excepting the reprise taken from 2 Kings in Jeremiah 52, Jeremiah refers to the temple vessels in chapters 27–28 of the MT (// 34–35 of the LXX). These chapters illustrate that Jeremiah held the view common in the ancient Near East that the location of the temple vessels symbolized the location of the god, or rather the preferred location of the god. That at least some of YHWH's vessels went to Babylon was proof, according to Jeremiah, that YHWH preferred Babylon and wanted Judah to submit to that country and to Nebuchadnezzar. The Mt and the LXX of these chapters differ in an important way, however. See Table 5.1.

It can be seen that here in Jeremiah the temple vessels substitute for YHWH's cult statue, indicating the location of YHWH's presence, or his desired location. According to both versions, the MT and the LXX, Jeremiah states that their being carried off to Babylon implies a decree from YHWH that Judah must submit to Babylon's rule. Only in the MT, however, does Jeremiah also predict that these vessels will eventually return, and so also the return of the Judeans to Judah. This last aspect is unknown to the Jeremiah of the LXX, however. In that version there is no hint of the return of the temple vessels or of the Judeans' return from Babylon. The MT has expanded the text to take into account the Judeans' eventual return from Babel, a return which the LXX does not know.

Table 5.1 Jer 27:16–22 (MT) Jer 34:13–18 (LXX)

¹⁶ Then I spoke to the priests and to all this people, saying, Thus says YHWH: Do not listen to the words of your prophets who are prophesying to you, saying, ‘YHWH’s vessels of YHWH’s house will soon be brought back from Babylon’, for they are prophesying a lie to you.	¹³ I spoke to you and all this people and the priests, saying, Thus did the Lord say: Do not listen to the words of the prophets who are prophesying to you, saying, ‘Behold, the vessels of the Lord’s house are returning from Babylon’, because they are prophesying wrong things to you;
¹⁷ Do not listen to them; serve the king of Babylon and live. Why should this city become a desolation?	¹⁴ I did not send them.
¹⁸ If indeed they are prophets, and if YHWH’s word is with them, then let them intercede with YHWH of hosts, that the vessels left in YHWH’s house, in the house of the king of Judah, and in Jerusalem may not go to Babylon.	¹⁵ If they are prophets and if there is a word of the Lord in them, let them counter me,
¹⁹ For thus says YHWH of hosts concerning the pillars, the sea, the stands, and the rest of the vessels that are left in this city	¹⁶ because thus did the Lord say: Even some of the remaining vessels,
²⁰ which King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon did not take away when he took into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon King Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim of Judah, and all the nobles of Judah and Jerusalem	¹⁷ which the king of Babylon did not take when he exiled Jeconiah from Jerusalem,
²¹ thus says YHWH of hosts, the God of Israel, concerning the vessels left in YHWH’s house in the house of the king of Judah, and in Jerusalem:	
They shall be carried to Babylon, and there they shall stay, until the day when I give attention to them, says YHWH	¹⁸ they shall enter into Babylon, says the Lord.
²² Then I will bring them up and restore them to this place.	

Jeremiah refers to the temple vessels in the following chapter as well, Jeremiah 28 (// LXX Jer 35). In both versions, the false prophet Hananiah predicts a return not only of the temple vessels within two years but of King Jeconiah and his family as well. In both texts, Hananiah is proven to be a false prophet by his death. Neither the LXX nor the MT know of a speedy return, but the MT does know of an eventual one (MT Jer 27:22).

That neither Chronicles nor Ezra refers to Jeremiah’s report in the MT that the temple vessels will eventually be returned to Judah suggests that they do not know the revised text of the MT of Jeremiah. This implies that they are basing their references to Jeremiah solely on the text of the LXX. Even though Ezra 1 exults in the return of the temple vessels, it cannot refer to either Jeremiah’s prediction or to Second Isaiah’s exultation in their return (Isaiah 52:1–12), because neither one of these relevant prophetic passages had yet been written in 516 BCE.

Conclusion

I have previously suggested that Ezra 1–6 was based on the second temple’s original building inscription, erected at the time of the temple’s dedication in 516 BCE (Fried 2003; 2015:18–32). Ezra 1–6 includes at its base the elements of a temple building inscription, specifically one designed for temples rebuilt after destruction by foreign conquest. These chapters are expanded, however, with numerous Hellenistic additions providing these chapters with plots and sub-plots. Ezra, like Chronicles, and perhaps like the underlying building inscription, quotes the prophet Jeremiah to demonstrate that the god did indeed want his temple in Jerusalem rebuilt. Paramount among typical ancient Near Eastern building inscriptions, however, is a statement to the effect that the god, in terms of his cult statue, has indeed returned to his temple. Since YHWH is an aniconic god, the role of the cult statue must be played by the temple’s vessels, and Ezra 1 emphasizes that the temple vessels have indeed been returned, the very ones that were taken by Nebuchadnezzar (1:7–11). Ezra does not refer to any corroborating prediction by Jeremiah, however. Jeremiah does predict the return of the temple’s vessels, but he does this only in the MT. The LXX does not know of their actual return. That Ezra 1 does not refer to these statements of Jeremiah, even though that chapter exults in the temple vessels’ return, suggests that Ezra does not know the MT version of Jeremiah, but only that of the LXX in which the return of the vessels is not predicted. The version of Jeremiah in the LXX seems to have been composed before the actual return to Judah. The revision visible in the MT must have been composed after 516, and the second temple’s dedication, and thus not available to Ezra’s first author.

Note

1 I thank Dr. Jim West for inviting me to participate in this volume.

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Part II

Jeremiah in tradition



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6 Jeremiah, Jehoiachin and ‘The Branch’

King Jehoiachin in Jeremianic interpretive tradition

Melvin Sensenig

Introduction

Even though succeeded by his uncle, Zedekiah, Jehoiachin universally appears as the temporal marker of exile in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and New Testament. He appears far more in the Book of Jeremiah than any other canonical book. In 2013, James Crichtlow presented an overview of Jehoiachin’s significance, mainly as a precursor to Jesus of Nazareth (Crichtlow 2013). In 2016, Matthew Patton used an oblique reference to Jehoiachin in Ezekiel 17 to argue for broad-based agreement among prophetic interpretations of the kingship which pointed forward to Jesus and the New Testament (Patton 2016). While not averse to the goals of these two works, I believe that the ground is far richer in analyzing the much-larger Jeremianic corpus’s interpretation of Jehoiachin. By paying attention to scribal developments in the editing of Jeremiah, I show the importance of Jehoiachin’s place in Jeremiah’s distinctive vision of a future Davidic kingship, and its importance in rabbinic and early Christian interpretation.

King Jehoiachin is a somewhat unremarkable figure in the canonical history of Judah. He was likely only about 18 years old when he assumed the throne and was deported three months later when he surrendered to king Nebuchadnezzar in 597 BCE. He survived for several decades in Babylon, where he had children and grandchildren. He received a brief mention in a Babylonian record of the time.¹ His uncle Zedekiah succeeded him in Jerusalem, being installed by the Babylonians as their governor and serving briefly as a rival focus of messianic expectations for some in the exile community. Jehoiachin’s grandson Zerubbabel was an important figure during the postexilic second temple period.² Thereafter, he rarely appears in the canonical record of the Hebrew Bible, although he does appear in Matthew’s genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:11). Both Kings and Chronicles record him routinely as yet another king who “did evil in the sight of the Lord” (2 Kgs 24:9; 2 Chron 36:9). In Ezekiel 17, he is often assumed to be the unnamed ‘Branch’ or ‘bough’ of Ezekiel’s prophecy about a future Davidide, although elsewhere in Ezekiel, his name only appears as the marker of exile.

It is only in the Book of Jeremiah that he becomes a figure of interest, appearing eight times under both his given name (Coniah/Jeconiah) and his throne name (Jehoiachin), sometimes as a figure of great judgment, and sometimes as a figure

of great blessing. The tension begins with a shockingly violent oracle against Jehoiachin in Jer 22:24–30 which sets the stage for significant swings in perspective on the young king. This passage represents the *only* place in the prophets that applies unmistakably to Jehoiachin (Hermisson 1980: 268).

I will argue that, beginning with the Book of Jeremiah, the fate and significance of Jehoiachin's life has experienced the same tension as found in Jeremiah; namely that he being a rather minor historical figure assumed a later hermeneutical significance far out of proportion to his historical footprint. This was a process that began first in the scribal culture surrounding the formation of the Book of Jeremiah after the exile.

Jehoiachin and the Shaphanide scribes of Jeremiah

The Book of Jeremiah describes the prophet Jeremiah delivering an oral prophecy to Baruch to be written for the king, its subsequent destruction at the hands of the king, its reconstitution by Jeremiah and Baruch and subsequent scribal additions (Jer 36:32).³ Recent scholarship on scribal culture has brought more light to that process, highlighting various viewpoints on the significance of king Jehoiachin in exile.⁴ While scholars disagree on the timeline for when each particular piece received its current position in the canon, the following texts will give us some sense of the scribes' attempts to wrestle with the prophet Jeremiah's viewpoints on Jehoiachin.

Jehoiachin rejected (Jer 22:24–30)

²⁴ As I live, says the LORD, even if King Coniah⁵ son of Jehoiakim of Judah were the signet ring on my right hand, even from there I would tear you off
²⁵ and give you into the hands of those who seek your life, into the hands of those of whom you are afraid, even into the hands of King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon and into the hands of the Chaldeans. ²⁶ I will hurl you and the mother who bore you into another country, where you were not born, and there you shall die. ²⁷ But they shall not return to the land to which they long to return.
²⁸ Is this man Coniah a despised broken pot,

a vessel no one wants?
 Why are he and his offspring hurled out
 and cast away in a land that they do not know?
²⁹ O land, land, land,
 hear the word of the LORD!
³⁰ Thus says the LORD:
 Record this man as childless,
 a man who shall not succeed in his days;
 for none of his offspring shall succeed
 in sitting on the throne of David,
 and ruling again in Judah.

(NRSV)

This oracle is the last in a set of four oracles against the final four kings of Judah, with important similarities and differences in the way these kings are treated in Kings and Chronicles.⁶ In Kings and Chronicles, all are reported to have done evil in the sight of the Lord (2 Kgs 23:31–24:20; 2 Chron 36:1–14). There are, however, important differences in Jeremiah's oracle that leave clues to the scribes' struggle to understand the future of Jehoiachin.

First, the order has been changed. Instead of Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, who was appointed as governor and by some regarded as King for the ten-year period from 597–587 BCE, has now been put at the top of the list (Jer 22:1–10). Jehoiachin has been placed at the end of the list, serving as an important bridge passage to the promise of the 'righteous Branch', the legitimate Davidide to come.

Second, Jehoiachin's oracle is sharper and harsher than the other three kings in several ways. It provides no specific instances of wrongdoing. This is unusual for prophetic rebukes of kings, which normally include one or several specific ways in which they have violated the law of the king. Although he is the 'signet ring' on the right hand of Yahweh, contrary to the dominant perspectives at the time on the covenant with David, this would be no barrier to his removal. The queen mother, sometimes important in establishing the legitimacy of one of her offspring to the throne, will be removed as well, signifying the end of the Davidic line. As if to reiterate the point, the oracle states that he will never return to the land, even if others do, that he will remain childless, and that he will never have a descendant to sit on the throne of the king of Israel. It is a wrathful, inexplicable end to the Davidic kingship (Carroll 1986: 438; Barth 1956: 56–7). The only possibility of hope appears immediately in 23:5 with the promise of an unnamed 'Branch', a legitimate heir to the throne of David, presumably not from the line of Jehoiachin. Then, in chapter 24, the perspective appears to shift again dramatically, although Jehoiachin is not named specifically. There, the exilic community in Babylon, which included Jehoiachin, were the objects of favor, and those who remained in Jerusalem under Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, were objects of judgment.

Jehoiachin contested (Jeremiah 28)

Perhaps seizing this possible opening in Jeremiah 24, Hananiah, one of Jeremiah's main rivals, prophesies the return of Jehoiachin within two years. Since over four years had already passed, Hananiah's prophecy would have placed Jehoiachin's return in the seventh year after exile, perhaps to contrast with Jeremiah's 70 years (25:11, 12; 29:11).⁷ Jeremiah reacted scornfully, but when challenged publicly by Hananiah, Jeremiah inexplicably retreated, the only time in the canon where he does so. Was he perhaps experiencing doubts about his own prophecies, understanding the opening he had given Hananiah? In any case, this is the climactic confrontation between Jeremiah and his main rival and it clearly centers on the fate of Jehoiachin (Barton and Muddiman 2001: ch. 27:1). Nevertheless, the difficulties did not disappear with the death of Hananiah.

Jehoiachin saved (Jer 52:31–4)

In words that mirror, nearly verbatim, the ending of 2 Kings, the scribal editors, who have clearly marked their own addition at the beginning of the chapter, remarked:⁸

³¹ In the thirty-seventh year of the exile of King Jehoiachin of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-fifth day of the month, King Evil-Merodach of Babylon, in the year he began to reign, showed favor to King Jehoiachin of Judah and brought him out of prison; ³² he spoke kindly to him, and gave him a seat above the seats of the other kings who were with him in Babylon. ³³ So Jehoiachin put aside his prison clothes, and every day of his life he dined regularly at the king's table. ³⁴ For his allowance, a regular daily allowance was given him by the king of Babylon, as long as he lived, up to the day of his death.

(Jer 52:31–34; NRSV)

In contradiction to Hananiah, Jehoiachin never returned, as Jeremiah had prophesied. In contradiction to Jeremiah, Jehoiachin did survive, had children and prospered as much as any captive king could expect to do in Babylon. Although the queen mother is threatened with judgment in the oracle against Jeremiah in Jer 22:26, the only queen mother judged at the end is Zedekiah's mother Hamital (Jer 52:1; cf. Kalimi 2006: 59). Zedekiah and his family appear to be those who receive the sort of judgment threatened against Jehoiachin. There is both a limited hope and a cautionary feel at the end to the book.⁹ Nevertheless, this creates a difficulty for the Torah-oriented tradition. Did Jehoiachin, the last Davidide, have an heir or not (Brueggemann 2007: 129)?

Though that question is not answered in Jeremiah, the fate of Jehoiachin seems to end well.¹⁰ His throne is set higher than the other captive kings in Babylon, perhaps marking him as a 'king of kings' second only to Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon (Levenson 1984: 356–7). Morgenstern speculates that the context for this may have been the Babylonian practice of atoning for offending kings:

In the celebration of the Babylonian New Year's Festival, the king enacted the role of the dying and resurrected, supreme national deity, Marduk. In principle the king should accordingly have experienced death, even as it was thought that the god had died. It was, however, the regular practice to put to death in ritual manner, as the substitute for the king, a prisoner, presumably one who had previously been condemned to death for some grave crime, and who is now brought forth from prison for this role in the festival ritual. There is even good reason for believing that actually two prisoners were brought forth from prison, one to be put to death in the prescribed ritual manner and the other to be set free and ever thereafter to enjoy the royal favor. How it was decided which prisoner should be put to death and which one set free we have no way of knowing, but certainly the decision must have been made by some

one in authority, a judge or a court perhaps or even possibly the king. These two prisoners were the substitutes for the king in the discharge of his role in the ritual of the New Year's Festival. The one prisoner, he who was put to death, functioned as the replacement for the king in his role as the substitute for or representative of the dying god. The other prisoner, he who was freed from prison and enjoyed the king's generous bounty ever thereafter, functioned as the replacement for the king in his role as the substitute for the god who gains his release from confinement in the netherworld, rises majestically therefrom and achieves resurrection.

(Morgenstern 1961: 414–15)¹¹

Whether or not Morgenstern is correct in his speculation, the Book of Jeremiah ends with its scribal editors clearly attempting some sort of rehabilitation for Jehoiachin at the hands of the world emperor, despite Jeremiah's oracle against him.

Jeremiah's Jehoiachin in canonical and deuterocanonical tradition

While Zerubbabel, grandson of Jehoiachin, does return to Judah as a Babylonian official, and while there were some who entertained messianic hopes for him, those hopes, along with Zerubbabel, disappeared rather quickly from the biblical tradition. Haggai specifically identified Zerubbabel as the 'signet ring' of Yahweh (Hag 2:23), thus restoring the lost 'signet ring' of Yahweh: Jehoiachin. Yet, after this announcement, which concludes Haggai's oracles, Zerubbabel never appears again! However, the hopes attached to Jehoiachin persisted.

In the LXX, the Book of Baruch immediately follows Jeremiah, and there we find the ideal picture of repentance when the king at the direction of the prophet leads the nation in repentance along with its leaders and king, and they respond with weeping, fasting and prayer (Baruch 1). Although few claim Jeremican authorship of Baruch, its connection to the Jeremiah traditions are long-standing, and testifies to the conflicted role he plays in the interpretation of Jeremiah.

Jehoiachin and Josephus

In the scribal rehabilitation of Jehoiachin at the end of Jeremiah 52, the scribes record that Evil-Merodach "spoke kindly" (χρηστός) to Jehoiachin. This, along with "righteous" (δίκαιος) are Josephus's favorite terms to describe Jehoiachin. They are words that apply only to some of the most notable characters in the Old Testament. In fact, Josephus devotes significantly more attention to Jehoiachin in his *Antiquities* than any other Israelite king including David! This leads Feldman to observe:

Margaliyot remarks that the Bible says not a word that is positive about Jehoiachin, whereas the rabbinic tradition has only complimentary statements and

not a single negative remark about him. . . . Josephus parallels the rabbis in this change of attitude.

(Feldman 1995: 27; Margaliyot 1949: 86)

Of course, Jehoiachin is an ideal figure to further Josephus's apology to the Roman Empire that the Jews and their king posed no threat. In Jehoiachin, he can promote an example of a kindly, righteous king who humbly submitted to the world emperor and received favored status for himself and his people in the Empire, goals which Josephus had for his own day. It is likely that Josephus saw himself in a similar position as Jehoiachin on behalf of his own people.

Jeremiah's Jehoiachin in Matthew

In contrast to Josephus, Jehoiachin appears only once in the New Testament, namely in Matthew's genealogy of Jesus. One of the foremost scholars of the birth narratives, Raymond Brown, believes that this actually stems from a misreading of the LXX, and refers to Jehoiakim, not Jehoiachin, and that Matthew missed a generation (Brown 1993: 83). While possible, whenever the LXX wants to identify Jehoiachin specifically, it is quite capable of doing so, and indeed, in context, there is never any difficulty in determining whether the LXX is referring to Jehoiakim or Jehoiachin. The Septuagint's mention of Jehoiachin was made clear by stating, as we have seen in Baruch 1:3: "Ἰεχονίου υἱοῦ Ἰωακὶμ βασιλέως Ἰουδα" (Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah). Further, the context always made it clear whether it was Jehoiakim or Jehoiachin who is being referred to, or the text simply referred to him as "Ἰωακείμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ" (1 Esdras 1:41). There is a better explanation for the absence of three of the final four kings of Judah (Jehoiakim, Shallum/Jehoahaz and Zedekiah), and the presence of Jehoiachin. All four of these kings received judgment oracles, but only Jehoiachin receive no accusations of covenant wrongdoing or specific instances of covenant violations. Somehow, given the reports of Jeremiah 52 and Baruch 1, Jehoiachin escaped some of the deadly effects of the judgment oracle and reappeared again in the royal lineage.

It seems from Matt 1:17 that Matthew intends to divide Israel's history into three periods: Abraham to David, David to the exile, and the exile to Christ. Jehoiakim is never a marker of exile in either canonical or non-canonical literature. As we have noted above, it is more likely for later writings such as Ezekiel and Esther to date the exile to the time of Jehoiachin's leaving Jerusalem, ten years before the city itself perished under Zedekiah. Thus, it seems intentional that Matthew includes Jehoiachin in his genealogy and eliminates all the other kings from the King Collection in Jeremiah 21–22. Thus, Matthew is able to make a direct connection between Josiah (the last 'good' king in Israel), Jehoiachin (the linking king in the King Collection between the Davidic kingship and the enigmatic Branch of Jer 23:5–8) and the ancestry to Jesus.

While scholars tend to see Matthew relying on Chronicles for his genealogy, it is also likely that he had hermeneutical clues from Jeremiah (Brown 1993: 70).¹² The only textual reason to include Jehoiachin, and not the other of the last four kings of Judah is found in the scribal editing and rearranging of the King Collection in Jeremiah 20–22, where Jehoiachin serves as the final link to the promise of

the coming 'Branch', the unnamed future Davidide to sit on the throne of David. The inclusion of Jehoiachin in Matthew's genealogy served Matthew's case in establishing a royal genealogy for Jesus, for which he faced stiff competition. Formative rabbinic Judaism, which shared the same hermeneutical matrix, but was unconvinced of the messiahship of Jesus, also laid claim to the interpretive tradition of Israel's history surrounding Jehoiachin.

Jeremiah's Jehoiachin and the rabbis

The rehabilitation of Jehoiachin expanded again at the hands of the rabbis. Jeremy Schipper argued in a 2007 article that the form of the oracle in Jer 22:24–30 includes an oath formula that Yahweh has freedom to annul, according to rabbinic tradition (Schipper 2007: 486). For the rabbis, the justification of the annulment stems from extra canonical accounts of Jehoiachin's repentance, obviously bolstered by scribal editors in Jer 52:32 and Bar 1:4–5. Thus, for Jehoiachin, exile becomes the means of atonement, such that he can even serve as a mediator between Yahweh and the exilic community.

The atonement arguments postulated that either exile itself had atoned for Jehoiachin's sins, or that Jehoiachin had shown covenant fidelity by refusing a conjugal visit with his wife while she was menstruating, and thus atoned for his sins himself. The legal principle appears in Num. Rab. 20.20, and the specific instance of repentance appears in Lev. Rab. 19.6.

at the very hour that God asks the heavenly court to absolve God of the vow, the Great Sanhedrin worries that the Davidic house would cease in their day, breaking the promise of an eternal dynasty in Ps 89.37. Thus, they persuaded the Babylonian queen's governess to ask the queen to convince Nebuchadnezzar to arrange a conjugal visit for Jehoiachin. Yet, when Nebuchadnezzar does so, Jehoiachin refuses to sleep with his wife because she is menstruating. Thus, he observes the purity laws, recorded in Lev 15.25. According to the midrash, he did not do this when he lived in Jerusalem, thereby doing evil in the eyes of YHWH. God notes this change in behavior, pardons all his sins, and releases him from prison.

(text quoted from Schipper 2007: 486)

Atonement theories became important for both Jewish and Christian interpreters, but Christian interpreters apply them exclusively to Jesus of Nazareth and their viewpoints, with one notable exception, are not nearly that positive.

Jeremiah's Jehoiachin in pre-critical Christian interpretation

Irenaeus, one of the early Church fathers writing in the latter part of the second century CE believed that the judgment oracle spoke proleptically against those who denied the virgin birth of Jesus:

if indeed He [Jesus] had been the son of Joseph, He could not, according to Jeremiah, be either king or heir. For Joseph is shown to be the son of Joachim and Jechoniah, as also Matthew sets forth in his pedigree. But Jechoniah, and

all his posterity, were disinherited from the kingdom. . . . Those, therefore, who say that He was begotten of Joseph, and that they have hope in Him, do cause themselves to be disinherited from the kingdom, falling under the curse and rebuke directed against Jechoniah and his seed.

(Irenaeus 1899: ch. xxi. 9)

In other words, for Irenaeus, the primary purpose of the oracle was to set the stage for the birth of Jesus by means of contrast, rather than continuity. Interestingly, Hippolytus, writing in the third century CE, argues that the oracle in Jer 22:24–30 actually applied to Zedekiah, a conclusion not unreasonably drawn from Jeremiah 52.

In his [Zedekiah's] case is fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, saying, "(As) I live, saith the Lord, though Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim king of Judah should become the signet upon my right hand" (Hippolytus 1885: 177–8).

Thus, Hippolytus telescopes the last two kings of Israel so as to maintain the integrity of the oracle and the scribal addition to Jeremiah 52.

Thomas Aquinas, following another strand of rabbinic interpretation, believed that not exile, but the New Testament gospel had annulled the oath-oracle against Jehoiachin.

it is written of Jechonias (Jer 22:30): Write this man barren: . . . for there shall not be a man of his seed that shall sit upon the throne of David. Whereas of Christ it is written (Isa 9:7): He shall sit upon the throne of David. Therefore Christ was not of the seed of Jechonias: nor, consequently, of the family of David, since Matthew traces the genealogy from David through Jechonias. On the contrary, It is written (Rom 1:3): Who was made to him of the seed of David according to the flesh.

(Aquinas 1947: III quest.31 art.2 object.3)

The 16th-century Protestant reformer, John Calvin, believed that the shortened form of the name, Coniah, was a mutilated form to show Yahweh's contempt for the king. The word Coniah is, no doubt mutilated form of Jehoiachin. The Prophet then calls him Coniah by way of contempt, as though he did not think him worthy of the complete name, but expresses it in two instead of four syllables (Calvin 2002: 22:24).

Calvin must supply additional information – the internal pride of Jehoiachin, as well as the New Testament interpretation of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans – as the foil against which the humbling process of Yahweh, symbolized by the shortened form of the name, reaches its fulfillment.

Calvin's grammatical suggestion continued to influence conservative Protestant interpreters even into the 20th century. Matthew Henry, the 17th-century Presbyterian commentator, sees in the deletion of the *y* (*yod*) at the beginning of the name, the deletion of the first letter of the Tetragrammaton, and thus a signal of the removal of divine favor:

Some think it added to the honour of Abraham's new name that a letter of the name Jehovah was inserted into it, as it was a disgrace to Jeconiah to have the

first syllable of his name cut off, because it was the same as the first syllable of the sacred name.

(Henry, loc. cit.)

The early modern conservative scholar, Ernst W. Hengstenberg, took the deletion of the initial *ʾ* (*yod*) as indicative of the Hebrew imperfect.

the true Jehoiakim is, and remains, the Messiah, chap. 23:5. . . . However, the case is different with regard to Jehoiachin. The first change of the name into Jeconiah has its cause not in itself; the two names have quite the same meaning; it had respect to the second change into Coniah only. In Jeconiah we have the Future; and this is put first, in order that, by cutting off the *ʾ*, the sign of the Future, he might cut off hope; a Jeconiah without the *ʾ* says only God establishes, but not that He will establish.¹³

Calvin sums up this moralizing approach in his prayer at the end of his lecture on this passage

Grant, Almighty God, that as it has pleased thee to perpetuate the memory of the dreadful vengeance which thou hast executed on the descendants of David, so that we may learn by their evils carefully to walk before thee, – O grant, that the forgetfulness of this example may never possess us, but that we may assiduously meditate on what is set before us.

(Calvin 2002: 22:18)

No matter the theological or religious orientation of scholars, there is a similar pattern of interpretation. The rabbis looked for an additional instance of repentance and covenant-faithfulness on Jehoiachin's part. Early Church fathers either telescoped passages or discovered a typological reading foretelling Jesus's virgin birth. Protestant interpreters read hermeneutical significance into minute changes in the text. In fact, most pre-critical interpreters and post-critical conservative commentators such as Hengstenberg tend toward a harmonizing interpretation, which either supplies theological meaning from grammatical details or imports the condemnations of Kings and Chronicles as the reasons for the harsh judgment against Jehoiachin. In many cases, interpreters supply a reason that is not in the text, either for judgment, or for restoration in chapter 52, or both.

The problem, of course, to this harmonizing interpretation is that those reasons do not appear in the oracle against Jehoiachin. Indeed, they do not appear in the entire canonical text of Jeremiah, which clearly bears the marks of Deuteronomistic editing just as Kings and Chronicles, where his evils *do* appear although only in formulaic fashion (Römer 2010: 486). All the kings from the King Collection who received condemnation in Kings and Chronicles also receive accusations of covenant breaking in Jeremiah, *except* for Jehoiachin.

One striking exception to this pattern is Martin Luther, who, like Josephus, interprets everything about the life of Jehoiachin as a symbol of divine grace.

Throughout Luther every reference to Jehoiachin is always a reference to the grace of God to save the king, regardless of his character, and thus gives hope to the people as well.¹⁴ If nothing else, this divergence within the pre-critical tradition, even though weighted on one side, testifies to the conflicting messages that surround the oracle against Jehoiachin. It leaves one wondering how important it all was after all?

Jeremiah's Jehoiachin in early critical scholarship

Several scholars have noted the significance and importance of military aggression as a characteristic mode of judgment by ancient Near Eastern deities (Plant 2008: 204; Rom-Shiloni 2003: 209). Thus, it makes sense that, since both Babylonian and Israelite records describe the total devastation of the temple, Nebuchadnezzar's generals, had they found the covenant documents, would have recognized them as suzerain-vassal documents and promptly destroyed them (Mendenhall 1954: 50–76; 2001: 57). Nebuchadnezzar, enjoying the fruits of his victory over Pharaoh Neco II at Carchemish, and on his way to becoming undisputed suzerain, would have made certain to destroy any documents that appeared to give Israel title to the land under another suzerain, even if their God. Thus, after the exile, scholars and scribes would have to re-create the writings from whatever sources available to them. Therefore, the recovery project of critical scholarship sought to peer behind the reconstructed text in search of its prehistory. One way to do this was to use categories developed by romantic theories of great literature and attempt by means of source-critical theory to identify the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet.¹⁵

Duhm and his legacy

Bernhard Duhm, a “disciple and comrade-in-arms” (Kugel 2007: 561) of Wellhausen, postulated three sources for the contents of the canonical Book of Jeremiah: the actual words of the prophet, poetry (source A); the words of his scribe, Baruch (source B), which were reliably biographical; and the words of later editors or redactors (source C). In Duhm's opinion, Baruch “war kein grosser Geist und kein glänzender Schriftsteller; er ist eine biedere, ehrliche Seele und erzählt das von ihm erlebte mit liebevoller Versenkung in die kleinsten Details . . . und in zuverlässiger Weise” (Duhm 1901: xv; He was not a great spirit nor a brilliant writer, but was a sincere, honest soul, and told of his own experiences with loving immersion in the smallest details . . . and in a reliable manner).¹⁶

In this seminal work, *Das Buch Jeremia*, he states, “Aber für mich bedeutet es die Befreiung von einem Albdruck; ich glaube jetzt den Jeremia als Menschen, Schriftsteller und Propheten verstehen zu können, soweit man sich anmassen darf, das von einem so grossen Mann zu sagen” (Duhm 1901: vii; However, for me it [his literary-critical method] meant liberation from a nightmare; I think I understand now, the Jeremiah, as people, writers and prophets can [understand him], as far as one may presume to say that about such a great man). Yet Duhm remained puzzled because “Das Buch . . . wie ein unbeaufsichtigter Wald wächst und sich ausbreitet” (Duhm 1901: xx; The book . . . like an unattended forest, grows and spreads itself). He expressed confusion over the fact that the book contained “die

allerherrlichsten prophetischen Dichtungen und zugleich Stücke von recht geringer Qualität" (the most glorious prophetic poems as well as pieces of rather low quality), and "einen anscheinend bedeutenden Gedankengehalt mit einer merkwürdig ungeschickten Form verbunden" (Duhm 1901: vii; an apparently significant thought content associated with a remarkably clumsy form).

What does this mean for Duhm's interpretation of the oracle against Jehoiachin? Most of the text is removed as 'inauthentic' or, at best, a mixture of authentic and inauthentic (*echt* and *unecht*) based on literary style. Even though he acknowledged that Baruch, whom he regards as reliable if somewhat boring, was probably the one who merged the original Jeremianic poems together, such as we see in Jer 22:24–27, 28–30; he regards only verses 24 and 28 as genuine (Duhm 1901: xiii, 179–80). Verse 25 is a later addition which is not worthy of the style of a great man like Jeremiah: "Dass 25 Zusatz ist, bedarf für den, der etwas Stilgefühl hat, keiner weiteren Begründung. Wie hätte sich ein Jeremia den Effekt so verderben können! . . . Der ganze Zusatz v. 25–27 wirkt um so unangenehmer" (Duhm 1901: 179; That 25 is an addition needs, for the one who has some sense of style, no further explanation. How could one so spoil the effect of Jeremiah! . . . The entire addition of v. 25–27 works as disagreeably).

Verses 29–30 are a matter of pure indifference to Jeremiah, who, according to Duhm, believed that the entire matter of Jehoiachin ended when he went into captivity (Duhm 1901: 180). They were words that would only interest the curious, a cheap prediction after the fact (Duhm 1901: 180; see also Hermisson 1980: 254). Thus, Duhm explained away the problem, and the pattern too often continues today.¹⁷ With a stroke of the critic's pen, the difficult theological question of what to do with Jehoiachin's conflicted canonical image in Jeremiah disappears into thin air like magic!

Mowinckel and his legacy

Building on Duhm, Mowinckel added a fourth source, D, an additional source of later redactions. Further, Mowinckel added redactors for each particular source, thus increasing to at least eight the number of hands involved in the production of the text.¹⁸ This is an important progression – the more literary-critical studies progressed, the more they tended to see differences that in turn pointed to different sources.¹⁹ Mowinckel, as his thought progressed, became more aware of this danger of scholarship dissolving into an endless process of source-division so that one could never understand the developed tradition.²⁰

How, then, does this affect his understanding of the oracle against Jehoiachin? First, the entire section of 21:11–22:30 represents the hand of the redactor of source A (thus closer to the *ipsissima verba* of Jeremiah). He identifies, against Duhm, 22:24–30 as entirely of source A.²¹ The important point here is that Mowinckel, like pre-critical interpreters, valorized some portions of the text and dispensed with others. In addition to the contemporary authors noted, Leuchter observed:

Though the old source-critical paradigms are still useful in identifying literary genres within the book, they now seem rather limited in scope in terms of understanding the function of textual units, redactional growth,

authorial intention, tradition history and historical background to the Jeremi-
anic tradition.

(Leuchter 2008: 1)²²

Jehoiachin in contemporary scholarship

From the beginning of critical scholarship on Jeremiah, beginning with Duhm's 1901 seminal work, scholars have wrestled with the legacy of Jehoiachin. In these, with few exceptions, scholars, sensing the tension in Jehoiachin's legacy, whether he is assigned with judgment or hope, generally fall to one side or the other, instead of seeing in the tension and Jehoiachin's conflicted legacy the solution to the historical problem of what to do with Jehoiachin.²³ Relatively few leave intact the tension created by Jeremiah's scribes in Babylon in the final canonical form of Jeremiah.²⁴ Two recent monographs are devoted to the topic. Matthew Patton takes Ezekiel's prophecy (Ezekiel 17, commonly considered to refer to Jehoiachin although he is not explicitly named) as the focal point for arguing that Jehoiachin is a sign of hope that points forward to Jesus Christ (Patton 2016). James Critchlow, while using different methodology and argumentation, arrives at a similar conclusion (Critchlow 2013). Both are to be commended for their attention to scholarship and attempts to recognize New Testament use of Old Testament themes. However, in light of the significant contrast between Josephus and the rabbis, on one hand, and Matthew, on the other, I find myself unconvinced that the historical person of Jehoiachin (as opposed to the literary picture created by the editors of Jeremiah) functions as a type of Christ. The tension surrounding Jehoiachin in Jeremiah, beginning with the oracle against him in Jer 22:24–30, the only unequivocally explicit reference to Jehoiachin in the prophets, seems to be an important part of the reading strategy for later generations. In my opinion, New Testament interpreters relied less on the historical person and more on themes that develop from the literary tension created by scribal editing of canonical Jeremiah, as a means to identify the future Davidide and tie that specifically to Jesus of Nazareth.

Perhaps what the scribes did best for later generations, whether intentionally, or, more likely, unintentionally, was to create not a typology centered around the historical figure of Jehoiachin, but a literary open-endedness which could find any future fulfillment in the subject's ability to hold together both judgment and restoration themes at the same time.²⁵ In the process of textualization and canonization, and all of the inevitable editorial decisions with which scribes were faced, Jehoiachin appeared to embody both the extreme sufferings and undying hope for salvation of his own people. Any future claimant would, at a minimum, need to fulfill the same requirements.

Notes

- 1 For a brief summary, see Sparks (2005: 378–9), Job (2006: 80). Interestingly, the Babylonian Chronicle describes Jehoiachin's surrender as a capture, and Zedekiah as the king of Nebuchadnezzar's choice (Kugel 2007: 584).

- 2 For an accessible, non-technical introduction to the place of Jehoiachin in the Hebrew Bible canon, see Glatt-Gilead (N.D.).
- 3 It should be noted here that the Book of Jeremiah is not authorizing all scribal activity (see the prophet's oracle recorded in Jeremiah 8:8–9), but only that associated with his school.
- 4 See, e.g., Toorn (2007: 173–204), Schniedewind (2004: 149–73), Carr (2008: 168).
- 5 Note the interchange of personal and royal names, so that Jehoiachin = Coniah/Jecooniah, and Jehoahaz = Shallum. (Lundbom 1999: 95, 129–31). In fact, Jehoiachin has the most variant spellings of any king, six! (Kavanagh 2007: 239).
- 6 For a helpful summary, see Lundbom (1996: 716), Allen (2008: 238) Jehoiachin is one of the dt'r's 'bad kings' (Begg 1986: 51).
- 7 This raises the interesting, but ultimately unanswerable, question of what Jeremiah would have thought of the Book of Daniel's reinterpretation of his 70 years to be 70×7 (Daniel 9), or 490 years, or just before the Maccabean revolt.
- 8 While it is customary not to credit much significance to this ending to Jeremiah, given that it clearly appears intended to match the end of 2 Kings, it is significant that this chapter was already being used in feast-days in Babylon, perhaps demonstrating that it had achieved some sort of authoritative status even in Babylon. See, e.g. Fishbane (2004: 504, n. 3).
- 9 Signs of hope: Fischer (1991: 485–6). And signs of limits to that hope: Fischer (1998: 351).
- 10 The phrase "to lift up the head" signifies being elevated to a place of honor. However, in a curious turn of phrase, the LXX translation for "שָׁרַף רֹאשׁ" (lifted . . . the head . . .) in verse 31, is ἔλαβεν . . . κεφαλὴν (he took . . . the head), which always means to behead someone in the LXX (1 Sam 17:13, 2 Sam 3:1, 2 Kgs 8:24, 1 Chr 9:5, Job 29:6). Yet, followed by "led him out of the house where he was imprisoned", it certainly means that he did not lose his head! Nevertheless, the language is suggestive and perhaps deliberate, creating a point of dramatic tension in the LXX account: the reader expects Jehoiachin to come forth to execution, only to find that he comes forth to freedom.
- 11 For other accounts of resurrection of kings and other possible connections to the Babylonian ritual, see Lucass (2011: 50–4). Greek and Roman parallels adduced refer to the temporary release of prisoners; the only permanent release cited is of Jehoiachin by the Babylonians in 561 BCE (Maclean 2007: 310).
- 12 Brown also cites Ruth 4:18–22 and proposes a popular genealogy of the royal house of David including descendants of Zerubbabel.
- 13 It was precisely this problem, perhaps exemplified best in Hengstenberg among the authors we cite, that led James Barr to write his groundbreaking work debunking much of the theologizing on minute grammatical details in the Biblical Theology movement of later critical Protestantism.
- 14 An exhaustive list of all such references in Luther can be found in the bibliography: Luther (1960–1975).
- 15 Although not necessarily central to each scholar's project, it is a consistent concern that comes up throughout in these representative examples: Holladay (1975: 394–412; 1986: 394), Lundbom (1999: 126), McKane (1986: lxx), Hill (1999: 3).
- 16 Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the German are mine. While Duhm's work is certainly dated, his framework sometimes remains intact without much critical review.
- 17 There are important exceptions, of course, see, e.g., Sharp (2000: 433–4).
- 18 He helpfully makes lists of all his sources in Mowinckel (1914: 18, 22, 24, 31, 52).
- 19 Mowinckel (1959: 111).
- 20 Mowinckel (2002: 8–9).

- 21 Mowinckel (1914: 20–2). However, elsewhere he identifies chapter 21 as source C – and this is not a good thing! (Mowinckel 1914: 64). Hermisson corrects this negative impression (Hermisson 1980: 269).
- 22 More on Duhm’s and Mowinckel’s theological biases in Sensenig (2019).
- 23 For those arguing that Jehoiachin is a sign of hope, see Driver (1907: 144), Genung (1911: 91), von Rad (1966: 205–21), Fischer (1991: 485–6), Feldman (1995), Carroll (1997: 111–13), Plant (2008: 87), Patton (2016), Critchlow (2013). For those arguing that Jehoiachin is a sign of judgment, see Thiel (1973: 242), Begg (1986: 51), Clements (1990: 218–19), Stipp (1992: 92), Fischer (1998: 351) (yes, Fischer appears in both lists!); Allen (2008: 253).
- 24 Hermisson (1980: 270), Murray (2001: 247), Maier (2002: 213, 243), Reimer (2004: 217–18), Job (2006: 85), Leuchter (2008: 159).
- 25 Note the same strategy is used in Acts in the New Testament (Witherington 1998: 809–10).

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7 The mystery of the missing temple

The tradition about the destruction of Shiloh in Jeremiah 7:12–14¹

Niels Peter Lemche

¹² But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel. ¹³ And now, because ye have done all these words, saith the Lord, and I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking. Not ye heard not; and I called you, but ye answered not; ¹⁴ Therefore I will do unto this house, which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and unto the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh.

(Jer 7:12–14, KJV)

Nothing seems more appropriate in a contribution to a Festschrift for Magnus Ottosson than to take up a theme which can be seen as an extension of the kind of scholarship the jubilee has himself excelled in, in this case temple buildings from Palestine (Ottosson 1980). No temple would be better to discuss than the predecessor of the sanctuary in Jerusalem, the temple of Yahweh at Shiloh – if only there were a temple to study.

The story of the excavations of Shiloh does not belong among the most spectacular in Palestine. Between the world wars a Danish expedition was digging there for a couple of years led by Hans Kjær assisted by Aage Schmidt and others. However, apart from a few not very clear reviews of the results of the excavations, nothing was published, and some of the findings were subsequently lost.²

The death of Kjær in 1932 put an end to the excavations and nothing happened again until 1963, when Marie-Louise Buhl and Svend Holm-Nielsen conducted a minor rescue expedition which finally led to the publication of a report in 1969 (Buhl and Holm-Nielsen 1969).

Finally, some Israeli archaeologists have, in the 1980s, been digging at Shiloh. So far only a preliminary report exists from these excavations (included in Finkelstein 1988: 205–34).

It would not be wrong to guess that the excavators were inspired by the idea of finding Yahweh's temple in which shadow the narratives about Eli and his sons and Samuel at the beginning of the Books of Samuel took place. However, both the Danish reports and now also the Israeli preliminary report make it clear that nothing has been found postdating 1200 BCE which can be linked to the existence of a temple.

Finkelstein suggests, on the other hand, that there might have been a sanctuary there during the Late Bronze Age, although he has not found any traces of a temple, but perhaps of buildings that belonged to the holy area. Moreover, he makes it clear that there was hardly anything except this temple and the holy temenos attached to it in the Late Bronze Age (cf. Finkelstein 1988: 218–20).

In his dealing with the history of Shiloh in the Iron Age, Finkelstein, however, shows how occupied the archaeologists have been trying to define the presence of an *Israelite* temple in Shiloh in the Iron Age. Although he did not find anything which could, with certainty, be related to a temple, not to say remains of the temple complex itself, he is confident that there must have been a temple, basing this opinion solely on biblical evidence (Finkelstein (1988: 220 ff.).³ We may therefore say that Finkelstein, in this case, has fallen victim to the temptation so common for archaeologists: to dabble in *biblical archaeology*. It would be easy to characterize his case using the words of Bernd Jørg Diebner, that although we know nothing about a temple in Shiloh in the time of the Israelites it is still a fact that there was one (Diebner 1984)!

In spite of the rather dubious results of the excavations at Shiloh so far, the archaeological evidence has been extremely important for the understanding of the late text in Jer 7:12–14, where there seems to be a reference to the destruction of this temple (which has so far not been found). It would not be unfair to say that the traditional exegesis of Jer 7:12–14 has totally surrendered to archaeology (while it is at the same time vice versa just as legitimate that biblical archaeologists have surrendered to the evidence of the text in Jeremiah).

At the beginning of 1 Samuel we have the narrative about the place of the ark of Yahweh in Shiloh. However, the ark was lost to the Philistines after the battle at Apheq. Thereupon the ark was placed by the Philistines at Kiriath-Jearim until the day when David brought it to Jerusalem. At the same time the priesthood in Shiloh, consisting of Eli and his sons, was annihilated. Eli's sons were killed at Apheq and Eli died from the shock of hearing about their fate.

The story is problematic even in its context because the biblical text never admits that the city of Shiloh and its temple were destroyed. It is really 'only' the central cultic object which is lost. Generally, commentators have tacitly accepted that their readership would be able to read 'between the lines' and in this way understand that there really was such destruction although it is not referred to with one word in the biblical text. It has been concluded that destruction took place sometime in the second half of the 11th century BCE.

The very unsatisfying report of Kjær was therefore received with gratitude because he, being urged on by the archaeological supervisor of the excavations, William Foxwell Albright, maintained that the presumed conquest of this place really could be traced in the archaeological remains. There was evidence that the place was burnt down in the middle of the 11th century BCE.⁴ The information was accepted as valid without questioning and became a fixed part of the interpretation of Jer 7:12–14. With his reference to Shiloh, Jeremiah wanted to warn his fellow countrymen about the destruction of Shiloh that was supposed to have taken place 500 years before their own time. In this way his warning included a threat that they would suffer the fate of

Shiloh. If they did not bow to Yahweh, Jerusalem and its temple would perish in the same way as Shiloh did! The list of scholars who shared this opinion is long, and can partly be found in a recent study by John Day (Day 1979: 87 no. 1).

Only few have rejected this point of view, among whom we find Eduard Nielsen who correctly argues that the notion that the sanctuary at Shiloh was destroyed forever towards the end of the pre-monarchic period is in conflict with the information in 1 Kings 11, 12 and 14, because in these chapters a prophet from Shiloh, Ahijah, appears (Nielsen 1955: 317 f. note 4). Day disregards the information about Ahijah by claiming that although the temple was destroyed this destruction might not have involved the city itself (Day 1979: 93). However, Day, in a most uncritical way, accepts the Deuteronomistic History as *historical* and presumes that the text in Jer 7:12: "My place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first" is historically correct and not just an ideological expression of the Deuteronomistic demand for cultic centralization. Today we know that there were sanctuaries all over the country before the exile. We do not know that such was the case in Shiloh, but if prophets of Yahweh are mentioned as coming from Shiloh it is difficult to imagine that there was not a holy place to which these prophets were attached. What else would they be doing in Shiloh?

Day's article, however, also anticipated new archaeological information which appeared only at the end of the 1970s. The, by now, traditional understanding of the meaning of Jer 7:12–14 was seemingly impossible in light of the revision of Kjær's and Schmidt's excavations published by Buhl and Holm-Nielsen (Buhl and Holm-Nielsen 1969). As a consequence the old thesis that Shiloh was destroyed in the 11th century became redundant, and a revision of the destruction layers redated the destruction to the eighth century BCE, that is a little more than a hundred years before the time of Jeremiah.

Scholars who disagreed with the old idea of the destruction of Shiloh in pre-monarchical times seemed vindicated. The reference to the sanctuary at Shiloh in Jer 7:12–14 was not a reference to the distant past but to events that happened only a couple of generations earlier and because of that might still be considered important for Jeremiah's contemporaries.⁵ Day, however, was able to ignore these ideas and, relying on the late Israeli archaeologist Yigal Shiloh, was able to brush Buhl's and Holm-Nielsen's interpretation of the findings aside (Day 1979: 88). Without doubt he will now consider Finkelstein's preliminary report the final confirmation of his own position: Shiloh was really destroyed at the end of the pre-monarchical period and the destruction in the eighth century BCE is disappearing in the mist of history.⁶

We should by then be induced into believing that the matter is closed. Shiloh was destroyed by the Philistines ca. 1050 BCE. It is to this event that Jeremiah is referring in his temple speech in Jeremiah 7. This is also the conclusion in one of the major new commentaries on Jeremiah which have appeared over the last few years, the one by William Holladay (1987: 234–49), but we cannot exclude the possibility that he may have spoken too soon.

During all of this discussion nobody has really paid any serious attention to the literary issues in Jeremiah 7 although all sources from the Old Testament that may cast light on the question have been taken into consideration, including the

standard reference in Judg 18:31: "And they set them up Micah's graven image, which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh" and Ps 78:60: "So that he forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh, the tent which he placed among men". None of these sources are, however, decisive when it comes to the traditional interpretation of Jer 7:12–14. Judg 18:31 must, by all means, be interpreted in the light of information from elsewhere because the note about the existence of the idol of Micah is totally dependent on conclusions relating to the existence of the temple at Shiloh such as those discussed here. It is not an independent testimony to the age of the temple of Shiloh. Ps 78:60 is part of a post-exilic psalm of wisdom which is hardly older than the traditions of 1 Samuel or Jeremiah 7.⁷

It seems that almost all of previous scholarship has agreed that it is a fact that the speech in Jeremiah 7 with its encouragement to go to Shiloh to see what is going to happen to Jerusalem was really spoken by the historical Jeremiah himself, although the present framework may be later. Here we have to ask: "Is it a certain fact that the words about Shiloh really came from Jeremiah himself?" And should this not be the case: "Is it certain that the reference is to a real historical recollection among his 'public', which in this case means his readership?"

First of all it now seems certain that Jer 7:12 hardly refers to any event that happened only a few years before the time of Jeremiah. The recent Israeli excavations have made this very clear. On the other hand, the mystery of the missing temple still remains because there are – *pace* Finkelstein – still no archaeological traces that indicate that a temple was really established there. In this case we are entitled to ask: "Where does this talk about a temple at Shiloh come from?"

It is inevitable that we have to reconsider the redactional circumstances behind Jeremiah 7 in a serious way, although it is hardly possible within these few pages to review all of the debate about the temple speech in Jeremiah 7. Today we may single out two main ideas of who wrote the speech (and the short version in Jer 26:1–6). On one side we find a group of scholars who, with reference to especially Winfried Thiel's meticulous review of the redaction behind the present Book of Jeremiah, will argue that the speeches in Jeremiah 7 and 26 are Deuteronomistic from one end to the other, meaning that they do not come from the prophet but from the circle of redactors who produced the book (Thiel 1973).⁸ On the other hand, we do find scholars who argue that the Deuteronomistic parts of Jeremiah are not at all Deuteronomistic but are written in the literary style of Jeremiah's own time, and for that reason they may go back to the prophet himself.⁹ It is impossible to accept this point of view, in spite of Helga Weippert's extensive argumentation (Weippert 1973). It may be that, practically speaking, every linguistic argument brought forward in defense of a Deuteronomistic presence also appears in other passages in the Old Testament which are not of Deuteronomistic origin. Here it is not the single phrases that count but the collection of elements which is decisive, especially when the assemblage clearly displays certain Deuteronomistic theological ideas, such as, in this instance, the demand that Yahweh can only be worshipped in one place, but also the specific Deuteronomistic theology of the name.¹⁰ When such points are taken into consideration the discussion has to conclude on the literary background of the temple speech.

But there is one more step to go and we can begin with the indications presented by Carroll (1981) and his magnificent commentary on Jeremiah (Carroll 1986). Following his lead, the argument is: it was the Deuteronomistic editors who during or after the Babylonian Exile literarily created the figure of Jeremiah. In this way the Book of Jeremiah becomes a novel written by a Deuteronomistic editor about a prophet of the name of Jeremiah known from Judean traditions to be a prophet who lived and prophesized around the time of the fall of the Kingdom of Judah in 587 BCE.¹¹

In this way we are closing in on some kind of solution to the riddle of the missing temple. It is not Jeremiah the prophet who refers to a temple in ancient Shiloh, but the Deuteronomistic authors of the Book of Jeremiah. Now the Book of Jeremiah was not the only book published by the deuteronomists, as they also wrote a complete history of ancient Israel including the biblical books from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings.¹² It is in light of this Deuteronomistic complex of literature that we should understand the reference to the temple in Shiloh in Jer 7:12–14. It is enough that the fate of the temple in Shiloh in the narrative of 1 Samuel is a parallel to that of the temple in Jerusalem.

This can only be a very short introduction to this possibility. However, this much should be stressed: the temple at Shiloh lost its holy ark because of the personnel in the temple (the sons of Eli) and their corrupt cult wherefore the ark fell into foreign hands. In Jeremiah 7 the people of Jerusalem are accused of repeating the sins of the past, including their corrupt cult. Also the temple in Jerusalem should be deprived of its holy ark which would be carried away by the Babylonians, and we should, in this connection, not forget that from the perspective of the deuteronomists this had already happened when the Babylonians carried away the holy utensils of the temple in 587 BCE. Finally the temple at Shiloh disappeared – at least the deuteronomists declined to speak more about a temple in that place. The invitation to go to Shiloh can thus be considered an invitation to look for a temple without a trace anymore, and the threat is clear and implicit: the temple in Jerusalem will suffer the same fate as the one in Shiloh.

This does not mean that we shall continue to discuss whether or not the deuteronomists are referring to a temple at Shiloh that was destroyed probably around 722 BCE or around 1050 BCE. I have, in several places, explained how the Israelite history writer worked and have stressed the fact that he did not write history in our sense of the word but at best ‘historical novels’.¹³ If there ever was a real temple at Shiloh with an importance approximately like that attached to this temple in the Deuteronomistic narrative in 1 Samuel, it might have been there ‘once upon a time’ but we never will know. It could have been the temple complex of the Late Bronze Age – at least Finkelstein claims to have found its remains (1988: 218–20). There is really no reason to assume that the history writer had any form of exact idea of what had happened in his country over a period of more than 500 years, and for that reason there is no reason to put faith in their postulate that the temple in Shiloh really existed as a historical fact.

In order to solve the riddle of this article – the mystery of the missing temple – we should neither turn to archaeology nor to traditional historical investigations. Many decades of discussion among biblical scholars has made that clear. The

solution to the riddle is literary ('narrative') and traditio-historical and has to do with the biblical authors', the deuteronomists', ideas about the respective roles of the two temples. Only in this literary context do both the reference to the temple in Shiloh in Jer 7.12–14 and the archaeological evidence make sense.

Notes

- 1 Originally published as Lemche (1989). In honour of Magnus Ottosson.
- 2 Kjær presented his summary of the excavations in Kjær (1927, 1930, 1931). A review of these early excavations can be found in Marie-Louise Buhl and Svend Holm-Nielsen (1969: 9–12). On the lost findings inclusive of the so-called 'collared rim store jars': cf. Buhl and Holm-Nielsen (1969: 33).
- 3 Finkelstein's argumentation is here very close to a logical circle.
- 4 As to the literature cf. note 2; especially Kjær (1930: 105). This view appears in older literature without qualifications. See among others Albright (1963: 118).
- 5 This new view following the appearance of the revised Danish report provoked a number of studies; thus van Rossum (1970) and Pearce (1973: 105–8).
- 6 Cf. Finkelstein (1988: 220–7), although Finkelstein adds the warning that the stratigraphic context is still unclear (p. 220). As far as a destruction of the Iron II settlement in this place, Finkelstein adds: "Shiloh in Iron II was a small and insignificant village, in which no evidence of any destruction has ever been discovered" (p. 232).
- 7 Cf. on Ps 80 Lemche (1985: 350 f.), following Gunkel.
- 8 Another scholar who shares this view is Nicholson (1979).
- 9 This idea is still defended by Holladay (1987).
- 10 On the last point, the sentence "this house, which is called by my name" (Jer 7:12) and furthermore, see Mettinger (1982).
- 11 Again I will have to skip a more extended discussion of this side of modern studies in the prophets. Interested readers can find discussion of this (although not about Jeremiah) in Jeppesen (1987).
- 12 In this connection it is not very important if we speak of one circle of deuteronomists who wrote all of the Deuteronomistic literature, or two different groups. One behind Jeremiah, the second behind the Deuteronomistic History (probably the more likely situation).
- 13 Cf. Lemche (1988a: chapter 2), 'The Text and History': 29–74; and Lemche (1984).

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8 Calling-not-answering and internalisation of Torah in Proverbs 1–9

Jeremiah and Israelite wisdom literature

JiSeong James Kwon

Introduction

The intertextuality of Proverbs 1–9 and Jeremiah¹ has been at the centre of scholarly attention ever since the literary influence between biblical prophetic literature and Jewish wisdom writings has been investigated (Whybray 1982: 181–99).² However, it is, in fact, hard to affirm indisputably the dependence of wisdom texts on other biblical traditions and books before the time of Ben Sira (ca. 175 CE; Whybray 1982: 196). The task concerning the literary influence/dependence is also made more difficult because of an apparent activity of multiple redactions throughout the period before final compositions of Jeremiah and Proverbs in the late Persian or Hellenistic period. On the one hand, the Book of Proverbs is thought to have been brought together during several centuries until reaching its present form in the early Hellenistic period (Fox: 2009: 499–500),³ and Proverbs 1–9 is the latest redactional layer (except for the ending in Proverbs 30–31,⁴ although the linguistic evidence is too weak to prove the chronological order).⁵ On the other hand, since the initial oracle of the prophet Jeremiah, in particular ‘laments’ in Jeremiah 4–10,⁶ was addressed and written, the Book of Jeremiah was certainly redacted and re-edited by Deuteronomistic editors after the post-exilic period (Thiel 1973; 1981). Therefore the task of determining the literary connection beneath these redactional layers is not straightforward.

In this essay, resemblance between biblical texts will be regarded as a consequence of broad cultural knowledge in the compositional process rather than tracing a clear-cut literary influence of Jeremiah in Proverbs 1–9. This might be a probable scenario when considering the relationship between wisdom texts and prophetic pieces of works in the Persian and Hellenistic Jewish literature. Minimising the delineation of literary reference of Proverbs in Jeremiah, this study cautiously proposes plausible theological connotation that may explain the influence of Jeremiah’s text in Proverbs 1–9. First, from the relationship between Prov 1:20–33 and Jer 7:1–28 (esp. vv. 23–28) the shared motif of ‘calling-not-answering’ will be discussed (Robert 1934; Kayatz 1966: 122–9; Harris 1995: 67–109). Second, it will be argued that the notion of the new covenant in Jer 31:31–34 corresponds with instructions in Prov 2:1–22 that when wisdom-seekers receive divine instruction by heart, they can instinctively practice תורה and understand the fear

of Yahweh. What I need to emphasize is that these linguistic resemblances do not guarantee a certain dimension of historical activities between circles of prophets and sages, but a certain level of sharedness between scribal thoughts.

It has been claimed that Jeremiah partly influenced the formation of the Book of Proverbs (cf. Steiert 1990; Harris 1995; Kayatz 1966; Schipper 2012). Some, however, are sceptical about this theory of literary dependence between Jeremiah and Proverbs (cf. Whybray 1965; Weeks 2007: 116).

Calling-not-answering in Prov 1:20–33

Interpreters have pointed out the prophetic persona of Wisdom in the teaching of Prov 1:20–33,⁷ which is regarded as one of a later stratum after the proverbial section in Proverbs 10–29 and ten lectures in Proverbs 1–9. William McKane, for instance, argues that “there is not a single imperative, which is of the essence of the Instruction, and the formal structure, for the most part, follows prophetic modes of address” (McKane 1970: 277). Scott Harris, in particular, claims that the poem of Prov 1:20–33 recontextualises texts of Jeremiah 7 and 20 along with Zechariah 7 (Harris 1995: 67–109). Harris indicates parallels in words and phrases (Harris 1995: 93–4), though it is doubtful that all of them are clear evidence of the literary borrowing. According to Harris, the arrangement of שחק (“laugh”) and לעג (“mock”) in Prov 1:26 likely refers to לעג and שחק (“laughingstock”; noun form of שחק) in Jer 20:7. However, while the personified Wisdom mocks people under the doom of punishment in Prov 1:26–27, the prophet in Jer 20:7 has to manage both the mockery of the people and the mysterious act of God. This seems to be influenced by the typical source of lament, rather than a direct dependence of Jeremiah. If there are any links between Jeremiah and wisdom literature, the form and context of Jeremiah’s ‘confession’ in Jer 20:7–13, 14–18 is much closer to that of Job 30:1a, 9 (12:4a; 19:7) and 3:2–10 (Clines and Gunn 1976: 406; Dell 2013: 109–11; Kwon 2016: 81–2).

Yet, one may find the important theme about ‘calling-not-answering’ of Jeremiah in Prov 1:20–33. The condemnation of the Judeans’ repetitive disobedience to the divine word in spite of the repeated proclamation delivered by prophets shown in Jer 7:1–28, 25:1–7, 26:4–6, 35:12–17, and 44:1–6 seems to be fairly recognised in the rejection of Wisdom’s voice in Prov 1:20–33.⁸ There are, as Harris proposed, substantial links between Prov 1:20–33 and Jer 7:1–28; for examples, Prov 1:28 // Jer 7:27; Prov 1:31 // Jer 7:24; Prov 1:32 // Jer 7:28; Prov 1:33 // Jer 7:23, 24, 26, 27–18 (Harris 1995: 94), but words related to this motif are found in many passages (Jer 25:1–7; 26:4–6; 35:12–17; 44:1–6). See Table 8.1.

The prophet receives the instruction from Yahweh on “calling out” (קרא) to those entering in “the gate of Yahweh’s house” the divine message – מעו דבר יהוה – in Jer 7:1–2, on challenging the false belief that Jerusalem’s temple as the ultimate religious centre for Judeans is inviolable and on addressing the radical obedience of the Deuteronomic covenant as the entry condition to the promised land in 7:3–7 (Holladay 1986: 249). Just as the former sanctuary Shiloh (Finkelstein, Lederman, and Bunimowitz 1983: 267–8) during the 11th century BCE was destroyed by

Table 8.1 A comparison between Jeremiah 7 and Proverbs 1⁹

Jer 7:13, 16, 24, 26–28	Prov 1:24, 28–33
13 . . . ואדבר אליכם השכם ודבר ולא שמעתם ואקרא אתכם ולא עניתם	24 יען קראתי ותמאנו נטיתי ידי ואין מקשיב 28 אז יקראנני ולא אענה ישחרנני ולא ימצאנני
16 . . . כי־אינני שמע אתך	29 תחת כִּי־שנאו דעת ויראת יהוה לא בחרו
24 ולא שמעו ולא־הטו את־אזנם וילכו במעצות בשררות לבם הרע ויהיו לאחור ולא לפנים	30 לא־אבו לעצתי נאצו כל־תוכחתי
26 ולא שמעו אלו ולא הטו את־אזנם ויקשו את־עפרם הרעו מאבותם	31 ויאכלו מפרי דרכם וממעצתיהם יסבעו
27 ודברת אליהם את־כל־הדברים האלה ולא ישמעו אליך וקראת אליהם ולא יענוכה	32 כי משובת פתים תהרגם ושלות כסילים תאבדם
28 ואמרת אליהם זה הגוי אשר לוא־שמעו בקול יהוה אלהיו ולא לקחו מוסר אבדה האמונה ונכרתה מפיהם	33 ישמע לי ישכ־בטח ושאנן מפחד רעה
13 . . . and when I spoke to you persistently ¹⁰ you did not listen, and when I called you, you did not answer,	24 Because I have called and you refused to listen, have stretched out my hand and no one has heeded,
16 . . . for I will not hear you.	28 Then they will call upon me, but I will not answer; they will seek me diligently but will not find me.
24 But they did not obey or incline their ear, but walked in their own counsels and the stubbornness of their evil hearts, and went backward and forward.	29 Because they hated knowledge and did not choose the fear of the LORD,
26 Yet they did not listen to me or incline their ear, but stiffened their neck. They did worse than their fathers	30 would have none of my counsel and despised all my reproof,
27 ‘So you shall speak all these words to them’, but they will not listen to you. You shall call to them, but they will not answer you	31 therefore they shall eat the fruit of their way, and have their fill of their own devices.
28 And you shall say to them, ‘This is the nation that did not obey the voice of the LORD their God, and did not accept discipline; truth has perished; it is cut off from their lips’.	32 For the simple are killed by their turning away, and the complacency of fools destroys them;
	33 but whoever listen to me will dwell secure and will be at ease, without dread of disaster.

the Philistines because of their national evil and immoral behaviours in the past (v. 12), Judeans will likewise perish because of their incessant rejection of the divine word (v. 13) and because of the violation of moral and ethical behaviour (vv. 8–9; Grabbe 2009: 80–1).¹¹ The guiding motif of דבר/ולא שמע (‘speaking-not-listening’) and קרא/ולא ענה (‘calling-not-answering’) in v. 13b seems to give the Deuteronomistic account of why Jerusalem’s temple was destroyed in 587 BCE (Holladay 1986: 248). The Book of Jeremiah often mentions that Yahweh is pictured as “persistently” (שכם) sending prophets and as proclaiming to Israelites his message through his agents, though they did not listen (Jer 25:3–4; 26:4–5; 29:19; 35:14–15; 44:4–5).¹² In the ongoing oracle of Jeremiah (Jer 7:16–20), Yahweh further prohibits the prophet from playing a role as an intercessor – “not-praying” (אל־תתפלל) and “not-interceding” (ואל־תפגע); v. 16 – for Judeans, because they

have performed idolatrous worship of “the Queen of Heaven” (vv. 17–18) and more significantly Yahweh has made up his mind not to listen to them (“I will not hear you”; כִּי־אֵינִי שֹׁמֵעַ אֹתָךְ; v. 16d), so that this will lead to their complete destruction (v. 20).

In Jer 7:21–28, the critical speech concerning the denunciation of Jerusalem’s cult (vv. 21–22), the disobedience of Mosaic laws (v. 23) and the violation of laws are recurring themes (cf. vv. 3–15), where keeping stipulations of the divine word that is revealed at Mt. Sinai in the time of the Exodus (cf. Exod 15:26; Deut 5:33; 6:3) are more significant requirements than observing priestly requirements of burnt offerings (עֹלָה) and sacrifices (זֶבַח) in vv. 21–2.¹³ The contemporaries of Jeremiah did not hear (שָׁמַע; 7:23, 24, 26, 27, 28) Yahweh’s voice (קוֹל), but rather their disobedience was even worse than that of their predecessors in Moses’s time (vv. 23–26). Then, when Yahweh instructs Jeremiah in 7:27–28, the pattern of ‘speaking (דָּבַר)-not-listening (לֹא שָׁמַע)’ and ‘calling (קָרָא)-not-answering (לֹא עָנָה)’ is similarly reiterated as indicated in 7:13 (cf. Prov 1:24, 28). In the final verdict of v. 28, it is addressed that residents of Judah who did not hear Yahweh’s “voice” and “discipline” (מוֹסֵר) through the prophet will degenerate into an untruthful nation without hope (Holladay 1986: 263).

The personified Wisdom in Prov 1:20–33, as the prophet in Jer 7:1–2 does, begins with the imagery of a crying out (אָמַר, קָרָא; v. 21) – to the public in the street (vv. 20a, 21a), in the squares (v. 20b) and at the entrance of the city gates (v. 21b). While Wisdom in Prov 1:22–27 addresses the “gullible”/“ignorants” (פֹּתֵי), “scoffers” (לֹץ) and “fools” (כִּסְיִל), the following lecture in Prov 1:28–33 is the reflection of his former sermon to his real audience (Waltke 2004: 200). Wisdom, like a prophet, promises that if the “ignorants” give attention to her תּוֹכַח (“reproach”), they will have gifts of Wisdom which are רוּחַ (“spirit”) and the understanding (verbal form אֹדִיעָה) of דְּבָרִי (“words”) in v. 23. This might recall the prophetic flavour of Isa 44:3b.¹⁴ The word רוּחַ, as Fox comments, is likely associated with the internal inclination of the understanding through לֵב (“heart”) in Prov 2:2.¹⁵ Furthermore, the endowment of her spirit and understanding of his words could imply another way of the internalisation of תּוֹרָה,¹⁶ and this reminds us of the role of Yahweh’s wisdom in internalising the תּוֹרָה on the human heart in Prov 2:6, 10.¹⁷

Jeremiah’s idea of דְּבַר/וּלֹא שָׁמַע and וּלֹא עָנָה in Jer 7:13, 27 is shared in the denunciation of Wisdom against the gullible in Prov 1:24 and 28 (Harris 1995: 94); though not having an identical verbal agreement. The pattern – calling (קָרָא), refusing (מָאֵן) and stretching my hand (נָטַח יָדִי)-not-paying-attention (אֵין קֹשֶׁב)¹⁸ – in v. 24 is strengthened by that of their stubborn ignorance of her counsel (עֲצָה) and reprimand (תּוֹכַחַת) in v. 25. This is similarly repeated in Prov 1:28–31, but it is Wisdom who rejects the calling; לֹא עָנָה/קָרָא (“calling-not-answering”) and שָׁחַר/לֹא מָצָא (“seeking-not-finding”) in v. 28. The reason for the refusal of their calling is their derision of knowledge (דַּעַת) and their rejection of the fear of Yahweh (יִרְאַת יְהוָה) in v. 29 and by the lack of counsel (עֲצָה) and reprimand (תּוֹכַחַת) in v. 30 (Trible 1975: 511). The consequences of their rejection of listening to Wisdom, just as Wisdom preached in 1:26–27, is complete retribution (vv. 31–32) against them, and this echoes Jeremiah’s threat upon the sinful nation, Israel (Jer 7:28).

Summary words in Prov 1:33 that are common with Jeremiah 7 such as שָׁמַע (“listen”; Jer 7:2, 16, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28), שָׁכַן (“dwell”; Jer 7:3, 7), בָּטַח (“trust/secure”; Jer 7:4, 8), do not only reaffirm belief in the truth of the deed-consequence to readers (Harris 1995: 94), but also perhaps reminds them of the promise of the settlement in the land of Judah.¹⁹

As mentioned above, the persona of Lady Wisdom should not be identified too closely with the prophet, and there is little evidence to support the idea that the author of Prov 1:20–33 was directly inspired by Jeremiah 7.²⁰ Nonetheless, in my view, the ministry of Lady Wisdom in Prov 1:20–33 is still worth comparing with the prophetic context of Jer 7:21–28, in that they share the repeated motif of calling-not-answering uttered by the prophet and Lady Wisdom as divine mediators delivering the message of divine punishment. Fox similarly comments that the reader in Prov 1:20–33 “is necessarily expected to recall Jeremiah or the disaster he predicted”, although “Wisdom speaks to individual fools about individual punishment, not to the nation”.²¹ Of course, the imagery of Lady Wisdom calling out (קָרָא, רָנַן) at the gates (לִיד־שַׁעֲרִים) and at the entrance (פֶּתַח) of her city in Prov 1:20–21 toward callows/ignorants (פֶּתִי) and fools (כֶּסֶּל) appears in Prov 8:1–4, so much so that it might be seen as one of the wide-ranging features of Lady Wisdom. However, different from Prov 1:20–33 in which the human pursuit on Wisdom always is inevitably going to fail (v. 28), Prov 8:1–36 always guarantees the assured success of acquiring life and divine sympathy to wisdom-seekers (cf. 8:32–36):

I love those who love me, and those who seek me diligently find me.
(וּמִשְׁחֵרֵי יִמְצְאוּנִי; Prov 8:17)

For whoever finds me finds (מִצָּאִי מִצָּאִי) life and obtains favour from the LORD.
(Prov 8:35)

This makes the interlude of Lady Wisdom in Prov 1:20–33 look distinctive from other interludes in Proverbs 1–9.

Internalisation of Law in Prov 2:6–10

The radical disobedience of Judeans in the prophecy about the coming destruction of Jerusalem in Jer 7:1–28 (cf. 11:1–17)²² introduces the coming gleaming when the new covenant written on the human heart in Jer 31:32–33 is compulsory. This idea of the new covenant is what the father’s instruction of Proverbs 2 (esp. vv. 5–11) teaches. The interiorisation of the divine תּוֹרָה upon the human heart in Jer 31:33–34 and in Prov 2:6–10 has been often indicated.²³ Bernd Schipper recently asserted that dealing with the issue of the reception of the Law in Proverbs 1–9, there was scribal exegesis on different redactional layers. First, the sapiential instruction expressed in תּוֹרָה and מִצְוָה of Prov 3:1–5, 6:20–23 and 7:1–5 quotes and reacts to the central message, the *Shema Israel* of Deut 6:4–9 and 11:18–21, while Prov 3:1–5 (esp. v. 5) is construed as critical of understanding (בִּינָה) and Prov 6:20–23 as rejecting wisdom, though having a different nuance than Prov

7:1–5 (Schipper 2013: 57–63). Second, the late prophetic message in Jer 31:31–34a, about writing the Law in heart, appears in another instruction of Proverbs 2, where divine wisdom activates the human heart to follow the Law (Schipper 2012). Finally, the perspective of wisdom “is reduced from a theological concept to everyday knowledge” by a late redactor in Proverbs 30–31 (Schipper 2013: 76).²⁴ This view of wisdom and law subscribing to late prophecy, according to Schipper, is against the Deuteronomic tradition and against a wisdom centred on תורה (Schipper 2013: 68–9).

Such an approach in terms of law and wisdom might attest to the reception of Deuteronomy by redactors of Proverbs and there is little reason to suppose that the author(s) and redactors of Proverbs 1–9 did not know Deuteronomy when considering its common expressions related to the teachings of Moses’s law from one generation to the next (Deuteronomy 6 and 11; Baumann 1996: 196). Especially among wisdom books showing the closest relation with The Torah, Proverbs typically emphasises the need to listen to and obey instructions and laws and presents two ways – blessings/life for those who obey its teachings and curses/destruction for those who do not follow them (Prov 3:1–35). Proverbs 1–9, according to Katherine Dell, to some degree shows the influence of Deuteronomic ideas (e.g., Prov 2:1–4), contrary to Proverbs 10–31 which has links to the Book of Psalms (Dell 2009: 167–78, 194). On the contrary, the genre of Proverbs 1–9 is not different than the development of the instruction/advice genre in Egyptian literature²⁵ – e.g., the famous parallel between Prov 22:17–23:11 and *The Instruction of Amenemope* in the New Kingdom period (1550–1080 BCE) – and it should not be overlooked that such a form of father–son instruction that the author of Deuteronomy could utilise was popular in family pedagogy among their contemporaries (Whybray 1994: 59–60).

When Schipper takes into account the allusion or echo of Deuteronomy in Proverbs 3, 6 and 7 (Murphy 1998: 39; Dell 2009: 167–78), assertion of Deuteronomic redaction based solely on linguistic parallels is misleading. Although common words like תורה and מצוה (Prov 3:1; 6:20; 7:1–2) are frequently read as divine and refer to God’s commandments, this does not imply that they represent Deuteronomic terminology.²⁶ Rather those terms are certainly employed for the educational purpose of the parental teaching; i.e., “discipline” (מוסר; cf. Prov 1:8–9). The combination of common words (קשר, bind) and (כתב, write) only appear both in Deut 6:8–9, 11:18–20 and in Prov 3:3, 7:3, (Braulik 1996: 247; Schipper 2013: 60) but while writing laws in Deuteronomy is, in part, on buildings, in Proverbs it is on the tablet of human heart and thereby closely related to inner-transformation:

You shall bind them as a sign on your hand, . . . You shall write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates.

(וכתבתם על־מזוזות ביתך ובשעריך; Deut 6:8–9; cf. 11:18–20)

Bind them around your neck; write them on the tablet of your heart.

(כתבם על־לוח לבך; Prov 3:3b)

Bind them on your fingers; write them on the tablet of your heart.

(כתבם על־לוח לבך; Prov 7:3)

The tablet in Prov 3:3c and 7:3 directly refers to the heart (Jer 17:1; 31:33; cf. a real book in Isa 30:8; Hab 2:2; Waltke 2004: 369; Fox 2000: 145–7) rather than the stone-tablet like Moses’s tablet (1 Kgs 8:9; Exod 31:18; Deut 9:9; Jer 17:1). In this vein Stuart Weeks maintains that Yahweh’s instruction as a father in Prov 3:12 is not the evocation of Deuteronomic Law (cf. Deut 1:31; 11:2; 8:5; 32:6), but is associated with “the implication of instruction in later Hebrew literature” (Weeks 2007: 103–4).²⁷ Indeed, neither all the instructional forms in Proverbs 1–9 show interconnection with Deuteronomy or Deuteronomic covenant, nor the deed-consequence principle for dispensing reward and penalty.

Then, if the divine תורה in Jer 31:33 is identified with parental instructions/laws in Prov 2:1, it is highly likely that the notion of the new covenant in Jer 31:33–34 holds much in common with the distribution of the divine wisdom on the human heart in Prov 2:5–11, so that the Law would be irreversibly activated as a sovereign gift (Weeks 2007: 112–13; Schipper 2012: 128–40; 2013: 63–9). See Table 8.2.

Jeremiah’s covenant in Jer 31:31–34²⁸ differs from the Mosaic covenant of Mt. Sinai that their forefathers broke (המה הפרו את־בריתי; v. 32) and is a new type of covenant that never existed before. It implies the collapse of the Deuteronomic covenant with the national disaster of 586 BCE, rather than simply a revision or expansion of the old covenant.²⁹ The reference to the wilderness generations of Exodus and their inoperative covenant in Jer 31:32 likely alludes to Jer 11:1–17 (Römer 1991: 23–7) and 7:25–26 describing the fact that Jeremiah’s contemporaries repeatedly reject

Table 8.2 A comparison between Jeremiah 31 and Proverbs 2

<i>Jer 31:33–34</i>	<i>Prov 2:1–2, 5–6, 9–10</i>
כי זאת הברית אשר אכרת את־בית ישראל אחרי הימים ההם נאמ־יהוה נתתי את־[תורת] בקרבם ועל־לבם אכתבנה והייתי להם לאלהים להמה יהיו־לי לעם ולא ילמדו עוד איש את־רעהו ואיש את־אחיו לאמר דעו את־יהוה כי־כולם ידעו אותי למקטנם ועד גדולם נאמ־יהוה כי אסלח לעונם ולחסאתם לא אזכר־עוד	¹ בני אס־תקח [אמרי ומצות] תצפן אתך ² להקשיב לחכמה אזנך תטה לבך לתבונה ⁵ אז תבין יראת יהוה ודעת אלהים תמצא ⁶ כי־יהוה יתן חכמה מפיו דעת ותבונה ⁹ אז תבין צדק ומשפט ומישרים כל־מעגל־טוב ¹⁰ כי־תבוא חכמה בלבך ודעת לנפשך ינעם
³³ For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, declares the LORD: I will put [my law] within them, and I will write it on their hearts. And I will be their God, and they shall be my people. ³⁴ And no longer shall each one teach his neighbour and each his brother, saying, ‘Know the LORD,’ for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, declares the LORD. For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.’	¹ My son, if you receive [my words] and treasure up [my commandments] with you, ² making your ear attentive to wisdom and inclining your heart to understanding; ⁵ then you will understand the fear of the LORD and find the knowledge of God. ⁶ For Yahweh gives wisdom; from his mouth come knowledge and understanding; ⁹ Then you will understand righteousness and justice and equity, every good path; ¹⁰ for wisdom will come into your heart, and knowledge will be pleasant to your soul;

hearing the divine word and Yahweh refuses Jeremiah's intercessory efforts (7:16; 11:11, 14; 14:11–12). Foremost in this new covenant is the internalisation of the divine תורה in the heart (לב) and without external pressure by humans (31:33).

Exemplified by such expressions as "I will put my torah in the inner parts of their bodies" (ונתתי את-תורתי בקרבם) and "write it on their hearts" (ועל-לבם אכתבנה) in Jer 31:33b, Yahweh's relationship with the Israelites will become individualised, unlike Moses's nationalistic covenant (cf. 31:30; Lundbom 2004: 469). תורה implemented on the human heart will replace "the sin of Judah" that was once "inscribed on the tablet of their heart" (חרושה על-לוח לבם; Jer 17:1). Consequently, the internalised תורה on the human heart, regardless of the person's age or social standing takes away the necessity of instructing people in תורה and of urging the practice of תורה (Jer 31:34a). There is no need to learn of Yahweh, because the divine תורה is transplanted, resulting in obedience, and in no need for repentance, because their iniquities will be eternally and innately forgiven (Jer 31:34b–c). In Jer 32:40c–d, another guarantee of the new covenant is introduced to put יראה (fear) of Yahweh on their hearts, in order to prevent their apostasy. Whether those divine gifts belong to eschatological or Deuteronomistic predication (McKane 1996: 821), the internalisation is wholly achieved by divine will, independent of the state of human corruption (Jer 10:12; 51:15).

The awareness of the new covenant is certainly pervasive in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, but the notion of "inscribing The Torah in their heart" in Jer 31:33b is exceptional among the other occurrences; e.g., "the eternal covenant" (Isa 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; 50:5; Ezek 16:60; 37:26); "the covenant of peace" (Isa 54:10; Ezek 34:25; 37:26); "the covenant for people" (Isa 42:6; 49:8). Further, this is also developed in Ezek 11:19–20 and 36:26–27, but the difference with Jer 31:33 is that Ezekiel mentions "one spirit" (לב אחד) and "a new spirit" (רוח חדשה), instead of the implementation of the law (cf. Isa 59:21; Jer 24:7). The existence of Deuteronomic language in Jer 31:31–34 is frequently argued, but in Deut 30:6 it is usually linked to the circumcision of the heart and is mainly related to writing the *Shema* on doorposts in Deut 6:6–9, 11:18–21.

Next, in Prov 2:1–11, the relationship of wisdom with parental instruction in the setting of its pedagogy for promoting parental law – it lacks the term תורה, but that is expressed with בינה, תבונה, חכמה, מצוה, אמר in Prov 2:1–3 – is comparable to the idea of the new covenant in Jeremiah 31:33–34. From Proverbs 2 it is hard to draw the unified definition of חכמה (wisdom) related to questions of how a person can get wisdom and how wisdom functions in human hearts. And חכמה in various contexts in Proverbs 1–9 may be portrayed either as parental instructions/laws or as the (personified) Lady Wisdom. In general, חכמה is depicted, on the one hand, as skill, discretion, instruction or know-how, and is pictured as the object that humans should long for at the moment of decision concerning a matter of life and death (1:8–19; 3:21–35; 9:1–18; Fox 1997: 619–20; see also Waltke 2004: 76–7). Moreover, חכמה is frequently described as including religious/moral virtues and characters (4:6–8) as well as the capacity to acquire discernment, knowledge and understanding (Waltke 2004: 77–8). On the other hand, חכמה is portrayed as the mythological being transcendent and divinely originated, whom Yahweh formed on earth before creation (Prov 8) as an independent entity (Fox 1997: 624–7). Then, does חכמה in Proverbs 2 refer to no more than a father's proverbs/teaching/

laws and to the proper understanding of precepts? The learning process always demands the acquisition of the understanding of wisdom as the instructor's precepts (vv. 1–4), but in Prov 2:6, 10 חכמה is displayed as the effect or the condition of internalizing laws and to transform the hearts of those who seek wisdom.³⁰

The main address in Prov 2:5–8, 9–22, beginning with the apodosis (“then [אז] you will understand”; vv. 5, 9), syntactically follows conditional clauses in 2:1–4 with the protasis (“if [אם] you”; in vv. 1, 3, 4) (Loader 2014: 107). In the literary structure of 2:1–11 (Loader 2014: 103–10), the understanding of “the fear of Yahweh”, the acquisition of “the knowledge of God” (v. 5),³¹ and the perception of כל-מעגלי-טוב (v. 9; cf. 1:3) are dependent on the individuals’ willingness to accept and pursue authoritative commandments (vv. 1–4). However, the seeker of wisdom in the interactive process of teaching and learning needs profound skill for the sake of the internalisation of the parental torah, that is, the implementation of the divinely originated wisdom as a gift of God (v. 6; cf. Prov 8:22–24; Job: 22:22; 32:8; Sir 6:37; 11:15; Murphy 1998: 15; Fox 2000: 113–14). The notion of internalised-torah is reinforced by the entering of חכמה to the centre of the human organ לב (heart) in v. 10. The divine wisdom in 2:6, 10 in this respect is different from wisdom as the father’s instruction in 2:2, but contains characteristics of transcendent Wisdom over humanity (cf. Isa 11:2). The sovereign act of the divine by the imputation of חכמה puts into effect the purpose of the internalisation of תורה on the human heart as well as creating the condition in which תורה can reside (2:6, 10; cf. 3:11–12).³² Moreover, divine wisdom – the interchangeable word of דעת, חכמה in v. 10 – plays important roles not only in engaging the human will, but also in producing a moral capacity which then exhibits uprightness – namely נעם (delight) in v. 10 along with מזמה (discretion) and תבונה (understanding) in v. 11 – so that wisdom-students will by no means fail in keeping the requirement of torah. Finally, the following verses expound the benefits of the embodied law; namely, those for whom torah is internalised will be protected by deliverance from evil men (vv. 12–15) and evil women (vv. 16–19), and they will innately perform all the requirements of torah in their deeds and actions (v. 20).

Therefore, in this perspective, the process of internalising תורה by the activation of Yahweh’s חכמה is not different from the endowment of תורה on the human heart in Jer 31:33–34. Compared to the internalised torah activated by divine power in Prov 2:5–11, other cases in Prov 3:1–5, 6:20–24, and 7:1–5 lack the defining role of supernatural wisdom,³³ though the inscription of the father’s teaching on the heart – כתבם על-לוח לבך (“write them on the tablet of your heart”) – in Prov 3:3c and 7:3c reminds us of the “writing torah on hearts” in Jer 31:33. Moreover, one may also deduce the process in terms of the role of torah on individuals’ hearts in the rest of the Hebrew Bible (Weeks 2007: 112):

The mouth of the righteous utters wisdom (חכמה), and his tongue speaks justice. The law (תורה) of his God is in his heart (לב); his steps do not slip.

(Ps 37:30–31)

I delight to do your will, O my God; your law (תורה) is within my heart (מעה).

(Ps 40:9; [Eng. 40:8])

Listen to me, you who know righteousness, the people in whose heart (לב) is my law (תורה).

(Isa 51:7a–b)

There are similar words of *מֵעָה/לב* and *תורה* in Ps 37:30–31, 40:9, and Isa 51:7a–b that describes that law resides in human heart, but the entire notion of internalised torah activated by Yahweh, bringing forth the benefits of divine knowledge, does not definitely appear in those texts, compared to both Prov 2:1–11 and Jer 31:33–34.

Conclusion

It is no coincidence that the theme of ‘calling-not-answering’ in Prov 1:20–33, in which Lady Wisdom proclaims the predicted destruction of the foolish, is followed by the process of internalised-law in the human heart by the divine act in Prov 2:1–22. This sequence is respectively found in the motif of ‘calling-not-answering’ in Jer 7:13, 16, 27 which means the breakdown of the Mosaic covenant (cf. Jer 25:1–7, 26:4–6, 35:12–17, 44:1–6), and is observed in the conception of the unconditional law-inscription on the human heart in Jer 31:33–34 (cf. 32:36–41). The internalised law in Proverbs 2 and Jer 31:33–34 enables humans to keep the requirements of God’s laws instinctively, providing wisdom-seekers with the protection mentioned in Proverbs 2, while removing their sins permanently in Jeremiah 31. This does not mean that both texts dismiss Deuteronomic influence, but no doubt, there are certainly links and allusions with the history of Israel and the Mosaic Law.³⁴ However, the conception of wisdom and instruction in Prov 1:20–2:1–11 and the inscribed *תורה* in Jer 7:1–28 and 31:33–34 most likely reflects the emergence of the new covenant promising the endowment of the new heart and new spirit in prophetic literature, rather more than the tenets of the Deuteronomic laws.

Notes

- 1 Robert (1934: 42–68, 172–204, 374–84, 344–65, 502–25) has disclosed that there are significant parallels between Proverbs 1–9 and prophetic texts. For the use of Job and Proverbs in Jeremiah, see Walter Brueggemann (2007: 167–76).
- 2 For Job and prophetic texts, see Dhorme (1967: cliv–clxii, clxvii–clxviii), Hartley (1988: 13–15). For Ben Sira and prophetic texts, see Stadelmann (1980). Perdue (2005: 135) claims that Ben Sira “speaks as a prophetically inspired sage” (24:30–33; 39:6; cf. the grandson’s prologue). Silvana Manfredi (2005: 159–78).
- 3 The compositional growth of Proverbs, according to Fox (2009), may be divided into four parts: (1) older sayings in Proverbs 10–29 were composed during the monarchy, before and after the fall of the Northern Kingdom (722 BCE); (2) chaps. 1–9 (ten lectures and the prologue [1:1–7]) are prefixed to proverbial collections as an introduction; (3) five interludes were inserted in the book; (4) chaps. 30–31 were appended after older collections. Collections of proverbial sayings (chaps. 10–29) according to the book’s testimony could be dated from the Solomonic reign (1:1; 10:1) to Hezekiah’s (25:1). According to historical-critical research, Proverbs 25–27 (or chaps. 25–29) are often regarded as the oldest texts of the Book of Proverbs which is indeed a collection of various texts from different periods (cf. Boström 1990: 15).

- 4 In particular, Proverbs 31:10–31 is generally dated either to the Achaemenid or the Hellenistic period. For the Achaemenid period, see Yoder (2001). For the Hellenistic period, see Lang (2004: 188–207), Wolters (2000). However, Mathys (2004: 23–42) supposes that verses of Proverbs 31:10–31 are connected to Phoenician socio-economic and cultural characteristics.
- 5 Fox (2000: 6, 48–9) comments (with ref. to Schmid 2012: 186): that
 some parts of Prov 1–9, especially chapter 8, seem to me to be a response to Greek philosophy, though this is an uncertain basis for dating. The end point of the process was well before Ben Sira, who was writing in the early second century BCE, for he was strongly influenced by Proverbs.
- 6 Schmid (2012: 141) maintains that those laments belonged to “the historical prophet Jeremiah”, but it is “not yet associated with an accusation”.
- 7 Oesterley (1929: 10) has said that the tone in 1:20–21 “recalls the utterances of the prophets”. Robert (1934: 181) comments that “Wisdom speaks the language of prophets”. Ringgren (1947: 96) argues that Wisdom is “a personified preacher appearing with its penitential sermon”. Gemser (1963: 23) says that this passage includes “lyrische und prophetische Stilformen”. See also Kayatz (1966: 122–9).
- 8 While Jeremiah 7 is interconnected to the Deuteronomic formulation, the motif ‘speaking-not-listening’ in the context of the prohibition of Jerusalem cultic practice and of the coming escapable judgement is most likely Jeremianic (Dell 2009: 165–6).
- 9 I refer to the *English Standard Version* (ESV) for the MT translation.
- 10 Carroll (1986: 210–11) comments that the phrase השכם ודבר (lit. “rising early and speaking”) occurs “so frequently in the Jeremiah tradition with reference to Yahweh’s activity (apart from 2 Chron. 36:15) [and] indicates a distinctive strand of linguistic usage peculiar to the tradition (11:7; 32:33)”.
- 11 I suppose the deceptive words in v. 8 are likely to be the criticism against false prophets in Jerusalem.
- 12 Isaianic texts sometimes indicate the motif of ‘speaking-not-listening’ (cf. Isa 65:12; 66:4). However, this is reversed in the eschatological vision of election of Israel; “before they call I will answer; while they are yet speaking I will hear” in Isa 65:24. In Isa 6:9–10, the divine message is to condemn Judeans by saying that although they continue to “hear” and “see” prophecy and vision, they never reach to the authentic understanding because Yahweh gave the hardened heart to them.
- 13 The idea that sacrifices should be ceased appears in Jer 15:2, 22:20, 44:25 and 46:11 (Hos 4:17; Isa 29:1–2; Lundbom 1999: 481).
- 14 Though יצק (Qal) is used for the expression “pouring out”, while the Hiphil form of נבע is in Prov 1:23. For links with Isaiah, see McKane (1970: 274), Ringgren (1947: 96), Robert (1934: 181), Wilson (2011: 156–7).
- 15 The word רוח “is usually associated with emotion and matters of the ‘spirit’, while leb ‘heart’ is the organ of faculties and thoughts we identify with cognition” (Fox 2000: 100).
- 16 Waltke (2004: 205) argues that: the parallel between “to pour out to you” and “I will make known to you” “means that they will so internalize her spirited speech that they will never forget it”.
- 17 See the next section.
- 18 The phrase “stretching out my hand” is unlikely about the prophetic model (Fox 2000: 100). Yet, McKane (1970: 274) claims that “there can be no doubt that vv. 24–25 do have the form of a prophetic Scheltrede (‘reproof’, ‘chiding’) and that they lead on to a Drohrede (‘threat’) in v. 26”.
- 19 This final summary-appraisal (Prov 1:33) seems to be a later addition in order to make it look like a father’s instruction.
- 20 The language of 1:20–33 is “that of a wisdom teacher” (Boström 1990: 149), the identification of a hypostatic Wisdom (Kayatz 1966: 24, 119–29), the reinterpretation of Jeremiah and Zechariah (Harris 1995: 93–100; cf. also McKane 1970: 277). However, what I describe here should not lead us to conclude that the motif of

- 'listening-not-answering' accompanying the divine condemnation over offenders against laws is originating from typical wisdom texts or from Jeremiah, but better to regard it as a common scribal product.
- 21 Fox (2000: 90–1) comments that "the depiction of Lady Wisdom scolding fools draws on the images of the prophet and God and deploys them in the arena of individual life". Contra Loader (2014: 90–1).
 - 22 Holladay (1986: 351) comments that "both 7:1–12 and 11:1–14 have been thought by commentators to be parade examples of Deuteronomistic diction".
 - 23 Waltke (2004: 227), Weeks (2007: 112, 116), Schipper (2012: 128–40; 2013: 63–9). Habel (1972: 145–8) earlier presented the possible link between Prov 3:3 and Jer 31:31–34 arguing "the covenant theology reorientation of the text becomes apparent, climaxing in a phrase reflecting Jeremiah's new covenant eschatology", and that Yahwistic reinterpretation in 2:5–8, 16–19 was developed from empirical wisdom in 2:9–11, 12–15. In contrast, Weeks (1999) opposes the theory that Yahwistic wisdom reinterprets an early secular wisdom supported by McKane and others.
 - 24 The redactional process suggested by Schipper is attractive, but there seems to be no compelling reason for arguing that the connection between law and wisdom in Proverbs 2 is a late addition.
 - 25 For the influence of Egyptian wisdom texts on Proverbs see Whybray (1994: 12–15), Fox (2000: 19–23; 2014: 76–91), Waltke (2004: 30–1); Weeks (2007: 4–32), Shupak (1987: 98–119; 2011: 310–23).
 - 26 Baumann (1996: 294–300), Contra Fox (2000: 79), Weeks (2007: 104).
 - 27 Weeks, not applying the methodology of redactional criticism, appreciates characteristics of wisdom and instruction in Proverbs 1–9, but warns against equating Law with wisdom and rejects identification of Law with the personified Wisdom in Proverbs 1–9 (Weeks 2007: 111).
 - 28 It is a muddy work to determine whether Jer 31:31–34 belongs to Jeremiah, Baruch, the later Deuteronomistic redactor, or the very late post-exilic scribe. It probably belongs to the early post-exilic period (McKane 1996: 817–18; Lundbom 2004: 465; Schmid 1996).
 - 29 Carroll (1986: 613) regards the relationship between Jer 31:31–34 and the Deuteronomists as "one of critical dialogue" and claims that "the Deuteronomists believed that the covenant had been broken and therefore had become inoperable". See also Anderson (1963: 232), Lundbom (2004: 466). For Jer 31:31–34 as a Jeremican passage, see Robinson (2001: 181–204).
 - 30 Fox (1997: 619) claims for this that חכמה as "a power" should "be activated by God in order to become the faculty of wisdom, the inner light that guides a person through life" (2:6–10).
 - 31 Fox (2000: 111) comments: "knowledge of God" "is a concept of great importance throughout the Bible, especially in prophecy".
 - 32 Weeks (2007: 113) concludes: "If instruction is indeed to be associated with the Law, then wisdom may be the way in which Proverbs 1–9 characterizes not the Law, but the condition achieved by those who have internalized the Law".
 - 33 However, this does not mean that Prov 2:5–10 contrasts against those instructions, e.g. Prov 6. In Prov 7:1–5, the internalisation of torah through the pedagogy with the aid of the affection and intimacy of the personified Wisdom (7:4) results in the protection of the young man "from the forbidden woman and from the adulteress with her smooth words" (7:5; מִאִשָּׁה זָרָה מִבְּנֵי אִמְרֵי הַחֲלִיקָה; identical with 2:16 except for the first word; Whybray 1994: 112). For instance, Schipper (2013: 62–3, 68) presumes that Proverbs 6 "denies wisdom this internal activity and prioritizes Torah" and that Proverbs 3 is interpreted in the backdrop of the Deuteronomic tradition. However, what Proverbs 3 denies is just human intelligence, not divine wisdom and Proverbs 6 only omits the mention of "wisdom", not abnormally deviant from the instruction genre.
 - 34 E.g., Mastnjak (2016: 42–6) proposes the link between Jer 7:23 and Deut 5:33.

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9 The memory of Micah's oracle in Jeremiah 26, or, Isaiah forgotten¹

James M. Bos

“Isaiah: Prophet of Weal or Woe?” is the title of a recent essay by Hugh Williamson (2013: 273–300).² A majority of scholars of the last century would not have asked this question, taking for granted that Isaiah and other Israelite and Judahite prophets were principally announcers of doom and often working under the assumption that oracles of ‘salvation’ were later additions.³ Yet recently, as Williamson notes, a number of scholars have questioned this working assumption in regard to Isaiah, due in part to results gleaned from comparative analysis of prophetic oracles preserved in the Mari correspondence and the Neo-Assyrian archives, and have proposed effectively the opposite, namely, that the oracles of ‘salvation’ or success/well-being⁴ are earlier (and potentially traceable to an historical Isaiah) and that the oracles of doom were added *ex eventu* (whether after Sennacherib’s invasion in 701 BCE or following Babylon’s invasions of the early sixth century) as an explanation for the military defeats.⁵ The purpose of Williamson’s essay is to challenge this “radical” approach, as he calls it (Williamson 2013: 277), and to argue that it is plausible that the historical Isaiah uttered doom oracles (although he is not suggesting he uttered *only* doom oracles as some scholars of earlier generations did). One component of his argument is that the memory of Micah’s doom oracle in MT Jeremiah 26 lends credibility to the notion that doom oracles were pronounced and written down in the eighth century, and this increases the likelihood that Isaiah uttered doom oracles and that an early version of a book attributed to Isaiah contained doom oracles (Williamson 2013: 284–5). I, however, think that the narrative in Jeremiah 26 may be interpreted in a manner that actually suggests the opposite, namely, that Isaiah’s absence from the narrative potentially points to his (and the textual corpora attributed to him in whatever shape it existed in the sixth century) not being a prophet of doom. My approach to this narrative will employ historical-critical methods informed by social memory studies. A brief analysis of the narrative’s redaction history will preface the larger historical analysis. Although it may appear odd to have begun an essay in a volume devoted to the figure of Jeremiah with the figure of Isaiah, I hope to demonstrate in what follows that the non-appearance of Isaiah in MT Jeremiah 26 has implications for understanding both these prophetic figures. If my arguments below are deemed correct, they will lend support to the reconstructions of Becker (1997) and de Jong (2007) regarding the growth of the Isaianic tradition, namely,

that the doom oracles were later editorial additions,⁶ and also contribute to our understanding of the early traditions associated with the character of Jeremiah.

Jeremiah 26

In the narrative now contained in Jeremiah MT 26, the tradents⁷ responsible for the book(s)⁸ of Jeremiah represent the protagonist's life as under threat due to his having uttered oracles of doom against the city of Jerusalem and the temple (of Yahweh) located there. In depicting the threat to Jeremiah's life in this chapter, the tradents also recall the fate of two other prophets whose doom oracles are regarded as parallel to those of Jeremiah. Micah (Micaiah) of Moresheth, remembered to have been active more than a century before Jeremiah, was allowed to live (and even had his message heeded by the Deuteronomistically evaluated 'good king' Hezekiah⁹); Uriah of Kiriath-Jearim, a contemporary of Jeremiah, was not so fortunate: his unwelcome message led to his fleeing to Egypt, where he was captured and brought back to the Deuteronomistically evaluated 'bad king' Jehoiakim, who then proceeded to execute him. Literarily, the memory of Uriah's death serves to emphasize the danger that Jeremiah faced, while the memory of Micah's success serves to legitimize both Jeremiah's message and his acquittal by means of precedent. Furthermore, Hezekiah's response to Micah accentuates the poor response of Jehoiakim to Jeremiah and Uriah. The narrative also provides a model for how readers ought to respond to Jeremiah's oracles, namely, by imitating Hezekiah. The text is ripe with many interpretive issues that could be addressed, but I want to focus on one question: why are only three prophets of doom – Micah, Uriah, and Jeremiah – remembered in this narrative even though several other prophets had ostensibly uttered similar doom oracles prior to the early sixth century BCE? Or, perhaps to pose the question differently, why do none of the characters in the story (or better, the tradents responsible for characterizing them) remember the doom oracles of Isaiah or Zephaniah?¹⁰ One possible answer, which I intend to pursue in what follows, is that whatever written Isaianic and Zephanic traditions existed at the time, the narrative in Jeremiah 26 was originally composed (see immediately below for a brief discussion of the chapter's development), they were not (yet) doom oriented.¹¹ Jeremiah is presented in this narrative as doing something unusual, out of the norm, such that only one solitary doom oracle can be recalled that precedes his message of doom for Jerusalem (along with a contemporary prophet whose oracles were not preserved).

Possible redactional development of Jeremiah 26¹²

Some literary tension exists in this narrative that may point to an editorial process beyond the first writing of the story. The most striking of these tensions is the people's behavior (as a group distinct from the prophets, priests, officials, and elders). In the first nine verses, they appear (as a group) as an opponent of Jeremiah alongside the priests and prophets accusing him, while in verses 10–16, they appear on Jeremiah's side, along with the officials (who do not appear in

the first nine verses) and argue for his acquittal in opposition to the priests and prophets who want him executed. Furthermore, verse 16 seems as if it should have been the resolution – the officials (and the people) state that Jeremiah does not deserve the death sentence. But then in the following verse, the elders of the land (appearing here for the first time) appear to be Jeremiah's only advocate while his life remains under threat, and at the end of the chapter, Ahikam has to protect Jeremiah from "the hands of the people" (thus now being his opponent and wanting him dead).

A number of redactional proposals have been put forward. The simplest, and the starting point for my dealing with this passage, is that of Hermann-Josef Stipp, who argues that verses 10–16 are an editorial addition (Stipp 2017: 145–65). In other words, all references to the officials taking Jeremiah's side, and all references to the people taking Jeremiah's side, are secondary. In an earlier version of the story then, the priests, prophets, and people all want Jeremiah dead while the elders of the land think that it would be unwise to execute him and the individual Ahikam protects him from the threat of the groups wanting him dead. Why then include a section about the officials and the people siding with Jeremiah? Carolyn Sharp is no doubt correct that these verses are consistent with a pro-Golah perspective (Sharp 2003: 54–62).¹³ They present the officials of Jerusalem (but not Jehoiakim!¹⁴) as correctly acknowledging Jeremiah as a prophet speaking in Yahweh's name. These are the officials who would have been deported and likely continued in some capacity of leadership among the Babylonian deportees (at least nominally if not functionally). The passage serves to legitimize their continuing authority (and presumably that of their descendants). A similar strategy can be seen in the narrative in Jeremiah 36 in which these same officials of Jehoiakim (some now named) show deference to the words of Jeremiah, the scroll on which they are written, and the person of Jeremiah himself. Although less clear than the officials siding with Jeremiah, it appears that the "people" in 26:10–16 who support Jeremiah alongside the officials thus may represent the deportees¹⁵ who are thus placed in a more positive light (cf. Jeremiah 24) than their counterparts (those who did not accept Jeremiah's words).

Were there other additions to the earliest version of the story? In my view, verse 5, with its reference to the repeated sending of Yahweh's prophets, is also an interpolation. As Holladay, McKane, and others have noted, it breaks up the flow between verses 4 and 6 and appears grammatically out of place (Holladay 1989: 100; McKane 1996: 666–7). More significantly for purposes of this essay, it stands in tension with the depiction of the prophets in the rest of the passage (and many other places in the book) where they are *not* to be listened to, and in even more tension with the depiction of the elders' memory of Micah's oracle. If, in the mind of the tradents composing verses 17–19, there had been a series of prophets to whom the people ought to have listened, there would have been no need for any character to recall the example of Micah. There would be ample number of examples predicting doom if the behavior of the nation was not corrected, all well known to the people. That would be the only way the people could be charged with not heeding the prophets.¹⁶ Thus, in the early version of the story as I have

reconstructed it (and which will form the basis of my analysis that follows), Jeremiah is presented as predicting doom for the city and temple; the priests, prophets, and people seek to put him to death for this treasonous prediction. The elders of the land remember the example of Micah and Hezekiah in an attempt to preserve Jeremiah's life; and the Shaphanide Ahikam (one of the elders of the land?) protects him from the mob (on which see further below). Between the elders' memory of Micah's oracle and Ahikam's rescue of Jeremiah there now stands a narrative aside about another prophet. It is to this short passage that I now turn my attention.

The fate of Uriah

The story of the prophet Uriah is tacked on to the end of the narrative about Jeremiah's near-death experience (or so the tradents construe it). Uriah, readers are informed, prophesied against "this city¹⁷ and this land" (but not the temple, explicitly, like Jeremiah supposedly does) "according to all the words of Jeremiah" (MT Jer 26:20). Thus, the tradents indicate that Jeremiah had an imitator (which significantly undermines the portrayal of Jeremiah as 'the prophet alone versus everyone else'!) and this prophet's comparable doom prophesying led to his execution at the hands of the reigning king, or so the tradents report. In fact, his treasonous behavior, as it seems to be characterized, is so egregious that Jehoiakim sends high-ranking officers¹⁸ to Egypt to hunt him down after he had fled. This suggests the tradents want readers to understand that Uriah's words were unwelcome in the extreme (with the implication that Jeremiah was risking a similar fate). Now, is such an execution likely to have happened? Is it probable (or even possible) that King Jehoiakim would have gone to such lengths to ensure the doom prophet's death? It is unfortunate that we cannot know for certain. The text has a measure of verisimilitude it seems, and a large number of scholars have more or less presupposed that the short passage reflects an actual event.¹⁹ Others have been much more skeptical. Carroll, for example, thinks it's a very late midrash that cannot be earlier than the broader (quite late) Jewish tradition of the prophets of old being martyred (Carroll 1986: 522). In its current context, though, the narrative of Uriah's death serves to make a potential execution of Jeremiah more plausible – 'Jeremiah was nearly killed!' this narrative screams. The story also highlights the 'badness' of Jehoiakim, who is consistently an antagonist throughout the Book of Jeremiah (and which is consistent with his portrayal in Kings and Chronicles), and, as indicated above, it provides a nice contrast with King Hezekiah's treatment of Micah and his oracle. Literarily, then, the story of Uriah's execution is not significantly out of place, even if it originated independently of the Jeremiah tradition. Its insertion into its current spot in the narrative, then, needs not be any later than the narration of the elders of the land remembering Micah's oracle to which it functions as a contrast.²⁰ This, of course, does not confirm its historicity. In my view, though, it must have sounded plausible to the earliest readers. In other words, a king putting to death a prophet who was predicting the defeat/destruction of the king's land made sense to people. It's perhaps what most kings were expected to do in such situations.

In a prior essay (Bos 2015), I made the case that *written* oracles of doom were improbable during the monarchic period precisely because it seems that most kings would not have tolerated such subversion.²¹ The short narrative about Uriah suggests the same, even if the content is not historical. It reflects how the tradents and their implied audience conceptualized a royal reaction to a message of doom (at least for a Judahite king that was remembered by the tradents' community[-ies] in a less than positive light). If Jehoiakim's actions in the narrative are viewed as depicting 'typical' royal (rather than 'atypical' or just typical of 'bad' kings') behavior toward prophets of doom, then we perhaps have the beginning of an answer to the questions posed in the introduction regarding why so few prophets of doom are remembered in the narrative. If Isaiah and Zephaniah had been, historically speaking, prophets of doom with oracles directed at Judah and Jerusalem as one now finds in the books attributed to them, they would possibly or even likely have faced the same fate as Uriah²² (Micah, as the exception, will be addressed below). This is perhaps why they could not have been remembered in this narrative as doom prophets who preceded Jeremiah: they were not historically such prophets because such prophets and their messages did not typically survive.

The burning of Jeremiah's scroll in Jeremiah 36

Jeremiah 26 is closely connected literarily (intertextually) with several other passages in the book, chapters 7 and 36 especially. Space and time disallow a full treatment of this material, so I will limit my comments to what is most relevant to this essay, namely, Jehoiakim's reception of Jeremiah's message of doom in chapter 36. In this well-known narrative, Jeremiah dictates his entire message of doom to Baruch who then proceeds to read the message aloud in the temple. He is heard by a person related to some of the royal officials and these officials have Baruch reread it to them in a private setting. The officials, upon hearing the contents of the scroll, are portrayed as being fearful for Jeremiah's life, urging Baruch to find a hiding place for the two of them (36:19 – literarily speaking, one of them, Elhanan ben Achbor, was involved in the extradition of Uriah in chapter MT Jeremiah 26²³). The scroll is then read aloud to Jehoiakim, who burns the scroll piece by piece as it is read (despite being encouraged not to do so by his officials – v. 25). The scene ends with Jehoiakim commanding the arrest of Jeremiah (but he was too well hidden by Yahweh to be found!).

Many scholars have again assumed a degree of historicity of this narrative that is probably not warranted.²⁴ As much as we would like it to be the case, the narrative does not provide us with description of how the scroll of Jeremiah (or an early version of it) came into existence. That said, Jehoiakim's actions in the narrative could not have appeared implausible to the earliest readers. A monarch being alerted to 'treasonous' literature can be imagined as wanting to destroy said literature (pre-printing press, this eliminated it from circulation [unless memorized]). In fact, a king reacting in the opposite manner to such literature, historically speaking, is what is difficult to imagine: Jehoiakim hearing from a prophetic scroll that Yahweh intends to destroy his territory and then allowing that scroll to

survive, be read aloud publicly, or even to be archived for future readings seems rather preposterous. To focus more specifically on why Isaiah and Zephaniah do not appear in Jeremiah 26 as fellow prophets of doom, can we imagine, in a thoroughly hypothetical scenario, the character of Jehoiakim in the Book of Jeremiah hearing the Book of Zephaniah and the doom passages in Isaiah read aloud to him and responding differently to their message of doom for Judah than he does to Jeremiah's message? I cannot.²⁵ The question is to what degree Jeremiah's Jehoiakim correlates with the historical Jehoiakim. If one agrees that the historical Jehoiakim, in the most broad of terms, discouraged the distribution of prophetic messages of doom for Judah, can one also then infer from this position attributed to him that doom-oriented Isaiah and Zephaniah scrolls were not among the texts that his scribes were reading (aloud, publicly), copying, and studying? Can one argue, or even presuppose, that Judahite kings preceding Jehoiakim generally did not have a markedly different position on such messages than Jehoiakim did (Hezekiah being remembered as an exception – but historically, perhaps not being so)? If so, then the possibility of written Isaianic and Zephanic traditions being preserved in and by the Judahite administrative apparatus that were doom oriented in perspective becomes less likely.²⁶ In fact, it is plausible that the opposite would have been the case, namely, that such oracles might have been collected and destroyed by palace retainers (as happens in Jeremiah 36).

Pashur's treatment of Jeremiah

To widen the discussion a bit, Jeremiah 20 contains a narrative in which another authoritative figure in Judah other than Jehoiakim is presented as finding fault with Jeremiah's message of doom, namely Pashur, 'the chief officer'²⁷ (NRSV) in Yahweh's temple. He is represented as finding Jeremiah's prophesying so offensive (illegal?) that he strikes him and imprisons him overnight. This narrative contributes to the characterization of Jeremiah as the lonely prophet whose message is rejected by all, so there might be reason to suspect its historicity. But once again, the narrative has a measure of verisimilitude. A high-ranking officer in the temple would likely not have been predisposed to respond positively to oracles predicting the destruction of the city where he was employed. Pashur's actions would likely not have been considered abnormal or 'out of bounds' by readers and hearers of the narrative.²⁸ So again, we have a memory contained in the Jeremiah tradition that suggests his message was politically unwelcome, at least by some members of the elite in Jerusalem, and broadly speaking, this does not seem that extraordinary considering the content of the message.

Shemaiah's letter to the priest Zephaniah

This theme of opposition to Jeremiah can also be seen in Jer 29:24–32 in which a certain Shemaiah of Nehalam (a pun on the root for dreaming?), a Judahite in exile, is represented as having sent a letter to a priest in Jerusalem named Zephaniah (but includes "all the people who are in Jerusalem" as well as other priests

as addressees). In the letter, Shemaiah castigates Zephaniah for not punishing Jeremiah for his message regarding the length of time the Judahites will remain in Babylon. Interestingly, Shemaiah indicates that it was the officers' (*paqidim*) responsibility to control the insubordinate prophets, that is, the same class of temple officials to which Pashur belonged and presumably oversaw. And the recommended punishment, placing him in a stock, is exactly what Pashur in chapter 20 is remembered to have done to Jeremiah. This suggests, at least as far as the tradents are narrating these events, that there were possibly some procedures (which Zephaniah, portrayed as mildly sympathetic to Jeremiah, did not follow) for dealing with dissenting prophetic voices, those critical of royal policy and especially those predicting an unfavorable fate for the nation, city, and temple. It seems to me unlikely that such procedures (threats, arrest, beating, and even execution are all attested in the Jeremiah tradition) were a complete invention of the Jeremiah tradents. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that such procedures would have been implemented for the first time during the Babylonian crisis of the early sixth century, but rather it is likely that such (or similar) procedures would have existed in earlier times.²⁹ If this is so, it has implications for the content and emphases of whatever corpora of written prophetic oracles existed prior to the sixth century. The Judahite elite, consisting of the royal family and palace officials along with the priestly leadership and a cadre of prophets loyal to the king – among whom were most if not all of the highly literate individuals in Judah – appear unreceptive and even hostile to prophetic oracles of doom (directed at Judah and Jerusalem). If there is any merit to my argument, then it casts doubt on the idea that a corpus of Isaianic (or Zephanic) material existed prior to 586 (that was read, archived, and regarded as authentic messages from Yahweh) that was doom oriented simply because it was incompatible with royal ideology.³⁰

Jeremiah's imprisonment

Another group of passages in Jeremiah may bolster this conclusion. In MT Jeremiah 32, Zedekiah has Jeremiah incarcerated for predicting doom for the city when the Babylonians were besieging it. Zedekiah, however, is presented as a more sympathetic but weaker character than his earlier royal counterpart Jehoiakim. His character recognizes Jeremiah's authenticity and desperately, but unsuccessfully, seeks to obtain a more favorable message from Yahweh from him (MT Jer 37:17–21; 38:14–28). Significantly for this essay, Jeremiah is presented as fearing execution for speaking his message to Zedekiah (Jer 38:15–16). Unlike Jehoiakim, Zedekiah opts not to resort to such measures. His officials, however, are presented as willing and eager to do so (38:4). They view Jeremiah's oracles as treasonous in the context of the war with Babylon thus deserving him a death penalty.³¹ This is largely consistent with the preceding analysis, namely, that messages of doom were unwelcome by the elite (even granting that Zedekiah is more respectful toward Jeremiah, whose message he is not willing to accept). The conclusion I derive from these stories is that the Jeremiah tradents who composed and transmitted them imagined that oracles of doom directed at Judah, Jerusalem, and

its leadership would be viewed with suspicion and hostility by the elite and the pronouncers of these oracles to be subject to punishment, including the possibility of the death penalty. And yet, the tradents simultaneously suggest that Jeremiah had allies among the elite who perhaps held not simply a neutral view of his message but perhaps even encouraged it (and helped to shape it?).

Jeremiah's allies

That during the Babylonian crisis of the early sixth century the Judahite administration was the site of (at least) two factions, one supporting submission to Babylon, the other recommending rebellion, is well established.³² In this social context, Jeremiah's message of doom (which sometimes explicitly included Yahweh's insistence on Babylonian hegemony, especially in the second half of the book) fits squarely in the pro-Babylonian faction. In other words, there must have been some officials who welcomed Jeremiah's message as recommending the right policy vis-à-vis Babylon, or at least would have found his message useful to promote their position even if they were neither as blunt nor as aggressive as Jeremiah is presented. We have already encountered Ahikam rescuing him in chapter 26. It appears likely that he was a member of the pro-Babylonian faction, for it is his son, Gedaliah, whom Nebuchadnezzar appoints as governor in Mizpah after razing Jerusalem and removing Zedekiah from power.³³ In MT Jer 38:11–14 (and see also 40:6), this Shaphanide family and the individuals associated with them are presented as “his [Jeremiah's] people”. It is probably no coincidence that this family obtains significantly more power when Jeremiah's predictions of Jerusalem's defeat at the hands of the Babylonians come true. They had been involved in the high-risk political back and forth, betting heavily on Babylon's strength, and their gamble paid off. Jeremiah appears to have been a significant player in their game.³⁴

This last point may be confirmed by the tradents' depiction of Nebuchadnezzar's and Nebuzaradan's treatment of Jeremiah in the aftermath of the siege. They appear to have been very familiar with him, they ensured his well-being (MT Jer 39:11–14 and 40:1–6), and granted him a gift (as payment for his service on their behalf?).³⁵ In other words, Jeremiah can be viewed as an agent of Babylon/Nebuchadnezzar whose oracles are represented as originating with Yahweh but the content of which served the imperial agenda.³⁶

In regard to the oracle of Micah remembered in Jeremiah 26, Pyper has posed the question “Whose Oracle Is It Anyway?” (Pyper 2012: 365–77). After running through several options, including Micah (obviously), Jeremiah (in whose book it occurs), and the elders (who quote the oracle in the Book of Jeremiah), he aptly notes that it could also be interpreted as Nebuchadnezzar's oracle (Pyper 2012: 376). This king most certainly would have found its content suitable and likely supportive of his agenda, with him being the fulfiller of the prediction. The same could be said of many of the oracles attributed to Jeremiah – they served to advance Nebuchadnezzar's agenda.

This explains why Jeremiah's oracles of doom are, atypically for such oracles, preserved and form the basis of the current book (which has, as noted, undergone

significant editing, including by tradents holding positions counter to what I have reconstructed for the early form of the book, the oracles against Babylon in MT Jeremiah 50–51 being the prime example). The oracles had the backing both of an elite Judahite faction that ultimately held some of the highest positions of local authority as well as of the empire whose agenda they furthered. They served to legitimize Babylonian hegemony and the new provincial government. That Gedaliah is assassinated in no way undermines this conclusion. The narrative of his assassination simply serves to dirty the reputation of the Davidides even more, justifying their removal from power.

Such a confluence of historical circumstances leading to the composition and preservation of a large corpus of oracles directed against Jerusalem by a fellow Judahite seems to me unprecedented.³⁷ The historical situation in Judah was not comparable in the late eighth century when Isaiah may have uttered oracles of doom, at least in the sense that there is no competing faction on whose behalf Isaiah is predicting the doom of Jerusalem who wins the affections of Assyria and seizes control of the local administration. The Davidides remained in charge even if subject to Assyria, and much of the literature, not least some of the Isaianic literature, recounting this period emphasizes Jerusalem's inviolability, which is ideologically the opposite of oracles predicting the inevitability of Jerusalem's demise. Much of the Isaianic material is also substantially anti-Assyrian,³⁸ in contrast to the pro-imperial material in the Jeremiah tradition.

The situation in the late seventh century when Zephaniah was ostensibly active is even more different from the early sixth than the late eighth was, with Assyrian oppression lifted, Babylon yet to assert its power, and Egypt relatively weak. There is little to suggest that the Judahite elite would have entertained the plausibility of their own demise, nor any faction that stood to benefit from such predictions.

Thus, in my view, the oracles of doom in Jeremiah are largely unprecedented in the early sixth century in Judah, with the notable exception of the oracle of doom attributed to Micah, to which I now turn.

Micah's oracle

Some scholars have assumed that the reference to Micah's oracle in Jeremiah 26 presupposes a written collection of Micah's oracles (presumably something resembling what today is Micah 1–3, and thus, largely doom oriented) in the early sixth century.³⁹ However, I am not convinced this is the case. For starters, the Jeremiah tradents are familiar with the concept of a prophetic scroll, including the storage and reading of such a scroll and yet, they do not represent the elders of the land as referencing a scroll of Micah, having consulted a scroll of Micah, or asking for a scroll of Micah to be consulted or read aloud in defense of Jeremiah. They are portrayed as recalling a single, three-line (thus easily memorized) oracle, the content of which was similar to the message of Jeremiah. I see no indication in the text that this oracle is to be understood as representative of a larger sample of similar (written) oracles, whether by Micah or anyone else. In fact, the way it is presented in the text, it appears more likely that it was an isolated example, one that no other character in the narrative had remembered (and thus by implication,

potentially an oracle not well known to the other characters in the narrative, including royal officials, priests, and prophets). Certainly it is not portrayed as the kind of oracle that was common, widespread, or numerous.

Furthermore, as Ben Zvi and others note,⁴⁰ despite the oracle in both Micah and Jeremiah being nearly verbatim,⁴¹ the larger literary context differs quite significantly in both. For example, the introductory formula “Thus says Yahweh Sebaoth”, which is a frequent literary feature of Jeremiah⁴² does not appear in Micah 3:12 (or anywhere else in Micah). More significant is the way the elders in Jeremiah are presented as interpreting the oracle, namely as a warning heeded by Hezekiah, averting doom. In Micah 3 there is no reference to Hezekiah, nor any positive response to this oracle of doom. In fact, in the immediate context of Micah 3:12, there is a series of accusations against the elite (roughly the same categories – heads, priests, and prophets – as appear in Jeremiah), leading up to the oracle of doom, which is prefaced by “because of *you* [the elite]”. This must have included Hezekiah, at least if read in the context of Sennacherib’s invasion (even though this is not explicitly mentioned in Micah, this is how the elders, and thus the Jeremiah tradents, are interpreting it). Additionally, they are charged with having a false sense of security, proclaiming “Yahweh is with us; no evil will come upon us” (Micah 3:11), which is reminiscent of the Jeremiah tradents’ charges directed at the so-called false prophets throughout the book, including the prophets who appear as the opponents of Jeremiah in chapter 26 (and the following chapters). If the elders of the land (or the Jeremiah tradents’ characterization of them) knew about a Micah scroll that contained much of Micah 1–3 as it exists now, then they conveniently forgot, or neglected to mention, most of the context in which the oracle is found. However, it may be that at the time the Jeremiah tradents were composing their narrative, the Micah oracle did not yet have a literary context in a scroll attributed to this prophet, in which case, the elders’ interpretation of the oracle reflects the tradents’ application of this remembered oracle (placing it for the first time in a larger literary context!), which included among other things their aim of contrasting Hezekiah with Jehoiakim. Notably, their characterization of Hezekiah may indicate that they were aware of a memory of the miraculous saving of Jerusalem during his reign but perhaps one that was somewhat different from that recounted in both 2 Kings 19 and Isaiah 36–39, in which Isaiah, not Micah, is the prophet that induces Hezekiah to do what was necessary to avoid defeat. This is significant. In the current corpus of the Hebrew Bible, Isaiah figures more prominently in the collective memory of ancient Judah than does Micah, especially in terms of his relation with Hezekiah and his role in saving Jerusalem, and yet, in Jeremiah 26, where the events of Hezekiah’s day are being recalled, Isaiah is absent.

Micah’s oracle in the ‘advanced’ form of the book(s) of Jeremiah

The notion of true versus false prophecy is a key theme in the book(s) of Jeremiah,⁴³ and MT Jeremiah 26 (LXX 33) is followed by three chapters that explore this theme in some detail by narrating Jeremiah’s rivalry with prophets who are

judged to have been false. As Otto has observed (Otto 2007), the memory of Micah's oracle is related to this theme. In the world of the book, the destruction of Jerusalem still lies in the future, and therefore, Micah's prediction of Jerusalem's destruction has not happened, with the result that Micah is open to the charge of being a false prophet (at least by the standards of Deuteronomy 18:22, with which this passage in Jeremiah stands in tension). The narrative in Jeremiah 26 has the effect of rescuing Micah from this charge. His prediction did come true (as readers of Jeremiah know) even though this did not happen in his lifetime. Another feature of this memory of Micah's oracle is also in play, namely, that human responses to prophetic words may impact whether they come true or not. The elders' memory of Hezekiah's response to Micah explains why the predicted disaster did not happen in his lifetime.⁴⁴ Thus, the issue of true versus false prophecy is not as simple as Deuteronomy presents it – human behavior can influence the realization or non-realization of the prediction (including whatever role the deity plays in this outcome) and, even if disaster is averted after the initial prediction, it can remain in effect long after it was first given.

What is curious then, in relation to the current article, is that the Jeremiah tradents perhaps did not feel compelled to 'rescue' Isaiah from the charge of false prophecy since he does not appear in the narrative alongside Micah. If in fact a significant Isaianic corpus existed in the early sixth century that was doom oriented (as the advanced form of chapters 1–8 and 28–31 currently is), then Isaiah's predictions might also have been suspect (at least if viewed through the simplistic lens of Deuteronomy). But we have no indication of this in the Jeremiah narrative. Perhaps, as I have suggested, this is because he was not yet considered a prophet of doom and was reimagined as such only after 586 BCE. If so, then the 'rescuing' of Isaiah as a true prophet goes in the opposite direction (in the book attributed to him, not in Jeremiah where he is absent), namely, he was initially remembered as a prophet of weal (for Judah/Jerusalem, in the context of the Assyrian crises) but when the Babylonians had destroyed the nation, for his oracles to be retained and judged 'true', they had to be edited to reflect this disaster, which transformed Isaiah into a prophet of doom.⁴⁵

As for the idea that human behavior (e.g. repentance) may change the outcome of messages of doom, Isaiah might have provided a much better example than Micah in Jeremiah 26. In the current form of 2 Kings 18–20 // Isaiah 36–39, it is principally Isaiah's advice to Hezekiah that results in Jerusalem's deliverance (and Micah is nowhere to be found). Thus, it is also curious that the Jeremiah tradents present the elders remembering Micah, not Isaiah, effecting Hezekiah's correct response to the impending doom. While not directly related to the question of the content (weal or woe) of the early Isaianic oracles, the absence of Isaiah in Jeremiah 26 may indicate that the narratives now in 2 Kings 18–20 // Isaiah 36–39 may not yet have been composed (at least not with Isaiah's role in them) when the Jeremiah tradents were putting their text together.

As for Zephaniah, had he indeed prophesied doom during Josiah's reign, and Josiah carried out a religious reform (the Jeremiah tradents are probably aware of this tradition in Kings, and thus, I am making an argument about a remembered

tradition, not a historical fact), then Josiah's response to Zephaniah would have formed a nice parallel to Hezekiah's response to Micah. Yet the tradents do not reference him either. And like Isaiah and Micah, Zephaniah's predictions of doom, if he had uttered any and they had been written down, had not come to pass, and thus he too was open to the charge of false prophesy. Yet the Jeremiah tradents do not rescue him either.

In sum, numerous features of Jeremiah 26 and related texts in this book point toward Isaiah and Zephaniah not having been prophets of doom, and whatever literature was attributed to them in the sixth century not being characterized as doom oriented. One way to disprove this hypothesis would be to demonstrate that Jeremiah (or Jeremiah tradents) reuses or is literarily dependent on Isaianic or Zephanic oracles of doom. I will conclude this essay by showing why this is unlikely to be demonstrated.

The use of Isaiah or Zephaniah in Jeremiah?

Holladay (1989: 47–52) provides the most comprehensive discussion of the possible literary dependence of Jeremiah on the ostensibly earlier prophetic books, so I will make a few remarks in relation to his findings.⁴⁶ First, establishing a literary relationship in most instances is very difficult. Most of Holladay's examples of discerning between verbal and syntactic coincidence and purposeful re-appropriation appears close to impossible. Second, even if literary dependence is asserted or even demonstrated, it is difficult if not impossible in most instances to establish which influenced which. Only the presupposition of Isaiah being earlier leads to the assumption of Jeremiah's dependence on it. Third, both books underwent significant editing, so even if one passage in Jeremiah can be demonstrated to depend literarily on a passage in Isaiah, it may be a later Isaianic passage influencing late Jeremianic redactors and thus not relevant to the status of Isaiah in the early sixth century. For the present article, any Jeremianic dependence on Isaianic oracles of well-being or oracles against foreign nations is largely irrelevant to the discussion, because I am mainly concerned with demonstrating the lack of oracles of doom in Isaiah before the early sixth century. Much the same can be said for Zephaniah.

To give a few examples, one finds in Jeremiah a reference to Yahweh planting his people like a vine that became wild (Jer 2:21), which is possibly an allusion to Isaiah 5. However, it is also possible that the more compact reference to the vine in Jeremiah 2 provided the raw material for the expanded poem about Yahweh's vine gone bad in Isaiah 5. It is also possible that the tradents responsible for both texts were independently drawing on a well-known agricultural metaphor. Another example: Isa 1:4 contains a reference to "destructive children" while Jer 6:28 contains the phrase "all of them are destructive". Is this more than a verbal coincidence? Furthermore, if the introductory chapter of Isaiah is relatively late, at least in its current form (with its literary connections to so-called Third Isaiah), might not the Isaiah tradents have drawn on Jeremiah rather than the other way around, if in fact this is a case of literary dependence? A final example: both Isa 1:31 and Jer 4:4 contain the phrase "with none to quench". Is this coincidence or

literary dependence? I prefer the former, but if the latter, how can it be proven that the Isaiah passage is earlier than the Jeremiah passage? In sum, I do not find a single unequivocal example in Jeremiah of literary dependence on an Isaianic oracle of doom.

The situation with Zeph 1:2–13 is similar. Holladay discusses about ten examples of possible allusions to this first oracle in Zephaniah. For example, both Jer 19:13 and Zeph 1:5 refer to those who worship the host of heaven on their roofs. If there is literary dependence here, the direction of influence cannot be determined. Such is the case also in regard to Holladay's remaining examples. He furthermore finds almost no examples of possible influence of Zeph 1:14–3:20 on Jeremiah (Holladay 1989: 52).

In conclusion, I see no indication that the earliest Jeremiah tradents were aware of an Isaianic or Zephanic corpus that was doom oriented. While the above arguments do not prove beyond doubt that such oracles did not exist, they certainly point in that direction.

Notes

- 1 I want to thank Brian B. Schmidt for reading a draft of this essay and providing many helpful comments and Jim West for the invitation to contribute to this volume.
- 2 Williamson is in the process of authoring a substantial and highly informative commentary on the Book of Isaiah, of which the first two volumes have been published (Williamson 2006, 2018), and thus, this is no insignificant question for him (or any other exegete). The answer establishes one's interpretative stance to a large portion of the first half of the book.
- 3 One can, however, also find numerous scholars who have viewed the prophets as announcers of both doom and salvation, especially among more theologically inclined scholars who have been hesitant to accept redaction critical proposals that disassociate portions of the prophetic books from the historical prophets.
- 4 Here we are not dealing with the utopian oracles of 'salvation', which are indeed later additions, but rather those that deal with the immediate circumstances in which Judah found itself in the late eighth century.
- 5 See especially the two scholars whom Williamson cites, namely, de Jong (2007) and Becker (1997). In this essay, I'm not concerned with specific oracles of doom but rather the general orientation of any hypothetical early Isaianic corpus.
- 6 Scholars' approach to Zephaniah has followed a similar trajectory to that of Isaiah in the sense that only recently have a few scholars treated the oracles of doom as post-586 *ex eventu* prophecy (see especially Ben Zvi [1991] and Levin [2011: 117–39]). Time and space prevent a detailed history of interpretation. However, the discussion that follows is similarly relevant to Zephaniah having or not having been a prophet of doom.
- 7 Regarding the term 'tradent', I used the term 'author' in my book on Hosea (2013) but was not really satisfied with that term because it connotes something very different to modern readers than what was going on in the ancient world when scrolls were produced and edited. I have contemplated adopting Ben Zvi's 'literati' but when writing specifically about those scribes (over multiple generations) who produced the books of Jeremiah, I don't think 'Jeremiah literati' sounds good at all. 'Tradent' refers to the scribes who passed on (edited, shaped, created, and re-created) traditions relating to the figure of Jeremiah (or any other prophet or character in the HB). Some of these may have been 'authors' in the fullest sense of the word but many were not. My use of 'tradent' does not preclude the sense of authorship but it also includes the sense of

updating, editing, glossing, etc. It has been used in this way by several scholars in the last two decades.

- 8 As readers of this essay will know, the LXX version of Jeremiah is shorter and arranged differently than the MT version of Jeremiah. It should be noted, though, that MT Jeremiah 26 // LXX 33, the main passage discussed in this essay, exhibits only minor differences. LXX has plurals in a number of places where MT has singulars, adds "all" a few times, adds a few pronouns as well as clarifying/interpretive conjunctions. MT characteristically has added titles (King of Judah, twice). It also contains a slightly longer version of the Uriah story at the end of the chapter (on which see below), one that includes an explicit reference to the city (of Jerusalem – to more clearly align him with Jeremiah) and one that includes more proper names (perhaps significant is the naming of Elnatan ben Achbor as one of the men tasked with capturing the fugitive prophet, for which he is presented as somewhat sympathetic to Jeremiah; thus, there is perhaps a witness to a later debate here over the status and legitimacy of this official of Jehoiakim, with the post-LXX redactors of MT Jer 26:20–23 painting him rather negatively, or potentially, the LXX translators removing him from the narrative to retain the more positive portrayal gathered from chapter 36).
- 9 This, however, is not a component of the book attributed to this prophetic character, but rather is part of the Jeremiah tradents' remembrance of Micah's oracle. See below for more discussion of this scene.
- 10 I do not include Amos and Hosea here because the oracles of doom attributed to these figures were not, for the most part, directed at Jerusalem or Judah.
- 11 Elsewhere, I have argued that the 'literarization' of the prophecies of doom are primarily a post-monarchic phenomenon (Bos 2015: 263–80). This article supplements and expands my earlier treatment of this topic.
- 12 There have been numerous treatments of the chapter, including its literary relationship to other parts of the book, especially chapters 7 and 36. Besides the standard commentaries, see also Holt (1986: 73–87), O'Connor (1989: 617–30), as well as the references cited in the paragraphs below.
- 13 I am not convinced by all of Sharp's proposals of redaction in this carefully argued chapter. In particular, I am not sure that an apparent distinction between conditional and unconditional doom is a marker of different redactors, and as will be seen below, I do not think verse 5 is in an early version of the story, but her 'Judah-based' section of chapter 26 (which must be relatively early) contains this verse. I do, however, agree with her that chapter 26 contains material composed by tradents sympathetic to the authorities of the diaspora.
- 14 See Sharp (2003: 59–60), for the tradents' careful distinction between the king himself and his officials. Only the latter are presented favorably in the pro-Golah material.
- 15 I cannot explain why the tradents who added verses 10–16 did not alter the people's perspective in the preceding and following verses to match that of the people in verses 10–16.
- 16 This phrase about the prophets as Yahweh's servants appears also in MT Jer 7:25, 25:4, 29:19, 35:15, and 44:4. In each instance it appears to me to be part of the 'Deuteronomizing' of Jeremiah (despite Sharp's [2003: 19–21] caution regarding taking the phrase as Deuteronomistic). See also Römer (2009: 172). The phrase in various forms (including in the singular) appears 11 times in the Book of Kings and once in each of Amos, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel, and Ezra.
- 17 As noted above, this phrase is absent in the LXX.
- 18 Their activity here stands in some tension with the depiction of the officials in 26:10–16, but perhaps we are to understand this narrative as the officials simply carrying out their orders while the addition in 26:10–16 is an attempt to rehabilitate their characters. Or, the two passages are competing profiles, one supporting the authority of the officials, the other not. Regarding the inclusion of Elnatan specifically in the MT, see above.

- 19 For example, Holladay (1989: 108). He places the event earlier in Jehoiakim's reign when he would still have been on good terms with Egypt.
- 20 In contrast to the many scholars who presuppose a Baruchian authorship of these 'biographical' narratives, I am convinced that they reached their 'advanced forms' at some remove from the historical prophet, whose life is probably not recoverable from the extant texts. Following Sharp, I assume a significant shaping of these stories by a party aligned with the Babylonian *golah*. However, prior to this reshaping of the tradition, there is a pro-Babylon/pro-Benjamin (Shaphanide)/anti-Davidide bent to it (see below). This pro-Babylon material (that lacks the later theologizing of the catastrophe) may be nearly contemporary with the prophet himself and if anything about the historical Jeremiah can be recovered from the text, it is in this early pro-Babylonian layer (see Bos [2015: 277–8] for a longer discussion of this topic). It is plausible (but not necessary or certain) that a scribe named Baruch was part of the pro-Babylonian faction and composed some of this early material that was subsequently adapted and reshaped by later tradents.
- 21 This does not exclude a diviner/prophet foreseeing some kind of disaster that could be prevented from happening by means of appeasing the god. In these situations, the king relied on his allies, the prophetic figures, to protect his land. That is not the situation with the prophets of doom in the Hebrew Bible who are clearly presented as opponents of king and state.
- 22 One could potentially argue that Isaiah, like Micah, prophesied doom during Hezekiah's reign and thus had his message received favorably and thus was not at risk of losing his life, but it begs the question, what about during Ahaz's reign (another Deuteronomistically bad king), which is the focus of Isaiah 6–8, which in their current form, contain a good bit of doom for Judah? And Zephaniah was active during the Deuteronomistically good king Josiah's reign, so if we were to extend this argument, his message of doom was also not unwelcome and his life not at risk. Even if one grants that such a reconstruction is accurate (and I don't think that it is), one must still wonder why then these two other prophets are not recalled in Jeremiah 26 in precisely a narrative where such a recollection would have done much to enhance the legitimacy of Jeremiah's message (placing him more directly in the company of other 'servants of Yahweh' [see Jeremiah 26:5, which is a later addition to the chapter] and to further emphasize the badness of Jehoiakim when contrasted to Hezekiah and Josiah). Another argument might be that references to too many prophets of doom who survive might have undermined the tradents' desire to show Jeremiah's life at risk.
- 23 But absent from LXX; see above.
- 24 This chapter has generated an enormous amount of secondary literature. For a recent treatment of the chapter, see Hartenstein (2017: 70–91), who is cautious about how much of the chapter can be traced to the time of Jeremiah.
- 25 It might be useful to imagine a non-Judahite example. Would Esarhaddon have allowed prophets predicting his or Assur's doom to live, and to have their oracles archived for later consultation? Of course not, as his succession treaty indicates (see Hartenstein 2017: 83 for the quotation from this treaty that indicates both the existence of subversive oracles as well as Esarhaddon's desire to eliminate them). Why should we expect Judahite kings to respond differently (even granting that Assyrian kings wielded significantly more power than kings of Judah)?
- 26 See Bos (2015) for a discussion on the limits of literacy.
- 27 The Hebrew term is *paqid nagid*.
- 28 The narrative shares a number of similarities with Amos 7 (see Couey 2008: 300–14). With Eidevall (2017: 24–6, 202–13), I view this passage in Amos as a post-monarchic composition and thus a near contemporary with the story in Jeremiah.
- 29 See for example the memory of Joash ordering the execution of a prophet in 2 Chronicles 24:20–22. As a late Persian-period text, this story may represent nothing more than the Chronicler's expectations of royal behavior in the distant past, but it is roughly consistent with the ideology present in Jeremiah.

- 30 This is not to say there were no dissenting voices. There must have been. It is simply that the dissenting voices were not privileged, saved, studied, and made into the normative voice, at least not until after 586.
- 31 One should note that Zedekiah's officials come off much less favorably than Jehoiakim's in Jeremiah. The pro-Golah position favors the first Golah in 597.
- 32 See in particular Lipschits (2005).
- 33 In my view, it is unlikely that this family was part of the Deuteronomistic movement despite their appearing prominently in the story of the book finding during Josiah's reign (2 Kings 22). DtrH is both pro-Jerusalem and pro-Davidide while this group (at least as I have constructed for the early sixth century) was not. Their appearance in the story (which is likely more fiction than fact) is probably an attempt by the later Deuteronomists (which plausibly included members of this family from later generations) to transform this prominent scribal family into their allies.
- 34 For a more thorough discussion of Jeremiah's role (and the book attributed to him) in this political grappling, see Davies (2007: 116–26).
- 35 The historicity of these stories is impossible to confirm, and the two seem to differ in some details, which suggests that we should be cautious about accepting they are records of actual events. But behind the stories lies a favoritism toward Jeremiah by Babylonian officials that appears plausible.
- 36 Note that in Jer 43:3, Baruch is also depicted as an agent of the Babylonians.
- 37 The oracle of Micah remembered in Jeremiah 26 is a partial exception in the sense that it is clearly an oracle of doom for Jerusalem uttered by a fellow Judahite. As I address below, however, it may not have appeared in writing prior to its incorporation into Jeremiah (cf. Bos 2015).
- 38 Some of the early Isaianic material from the Syro-Ephraimite crisis may present Assyria in a more neutral light if in fact Isaiah did not utter doom oracles. In other words, Assyria is the agent that removes the threat posed by Israel and Aram to Judah.
- 39 See Pyper (2012: 368), who also questions the opinion that the quotation of Micah presupposes a book attributed to Micah.
- 40 Ben Zvi (2000: 81–2), Carroll (1986: 518–28), Pyper (2012: 370).
- 41 See the commentaries for a more extended discussion (e.g. Holladay 1989: 108).
- 42 As noted by Pyper (2012: 369–70), this phrase appears 50 times in Jeremiah and just 24 times in the remainder of the Hebrew Bible (with most of those occurrences in Haggai and Zechariah).
- 43 The LXX version of the book seemingly intensifies this theme by the translators' repeatedly adding the prefix 'false' before the MT 'prophets' when this term is referencing Jeremiah's prophetic opponents.
- 44 And incidentally, this passage shows little awareness of the real devastation caused by Sennacherib's invasion (if indeed this was the context of the oracle) even though Jerusalem was technically not destroyed.
- 45 This scenario is essentially the position of Becker and de Jong.
- 46 Holladay begins the section on Isaiah with "Isaiah is not usually thought of as a source for Jrm (47)". This is in line with my position, but he then asserts that he does in fact draw on this earlier text.

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10 Jeremiah as eraser

The history of consequences of Daughter Zion and the prophet

Susannah Larry

Introduction

Within MT Lamentations, Daughter Zion¹ operates as one of the main speakers of the polyphonic poetry of chapters 1–2. However, within the interpretive traditions of Judaism and Christianity, her role diminishes to near invisibility. The Septuagint's framing of Jeremiah as the author of Lamentations and its most important speaker has decisively shaped the course of the book's interpretation: namely, Daughter Zion's voice becomes subordinate to that of Jeremiah, who goes unmentioned in MT Lamentations. Meanwhile, Daughter Zion – a complicated but overall authoritative character in the MT – receives amplified blame for her suffering.

The interaction of voices within Lamentations has become an increasingly important part of Lamentations scholarship. Recent feminist scholarship on Lamentations, including Carleen Mandolfo's *Daughter Zion Talks Back to the Prophets* (Mandolfo 2007), has sought to recover and rehabilitate Zion's voice from the margins of interpretation whence focus on Jeremiah has pushed her. In these readings, Zion contests the justice of her abuse. Additionally, Tod Linafelt (2000) explores Lamentations as a literature of survival. His reading highlights Zion's position as a mother struggling to survive both within the violent literature of Lamentations and in its literary 'afterlives'.

However, the motivations behind Jeremiah's cooption of Zion's voice within interpretive traditions – other than male bias – have gone undiagnosed. What is problematic for Christian and Jewish interpreters about the way Lamentations features a woman's voice? What do interpreters' depictions of Jeremiah and Daughter Zion (if she appears at all) reveal about their perspectives?

In both the Christian and Jewish traditions, the ascription of authorship to Jeremiah has allowed interpreters to avoid theologically problematic expressions of emotion. Masculinization of speech in Lamentations – first via Jeremiah, which often sets a precedent for other male speakers' interruptions as well – has allowed interpreters to reframe the emotional content of Lamentations in theologically orthodox ways. In the process, Jeremiah effectively erases Daughter Zion's voice.

Method

My approach to this project is mostly influenced by feminist and reception history methods. Like other feminist biblical scholars, I am committed to highlighting

how patriarchy infuses biblical texts and their interpretations. I focus my attention on female figures within the Bible, in this case Daughter Zion, who previously have been neglected within biblical scholarship, and their interaction with dominant male figures, such as Jeremiah. Reception history provides an exciting vehicle through which to trace the interactions between Zion and Jeremiah. Philosophically inaugurated by Hans Georg Gadamer's idea of "historically-effected consciousness" (Gadamer 2000) and given incipient methodological form through Jauss's *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, reception history has at its nucleus the idea that meaning does not merely lie 'behind' a text (Jauss 1982). Instead, a constant interaction between the text and subsequent readers layers new meaning, palimpsest-like.² The 'original meaning', if such a term can be meaningfully referenced, is indistinguishable to later readers from the layers added to it via subsequent readings.

Choon-Leong Seow's 'history of consequences' provides the most precise language with which to express the reception framework of my project. This term conveys the breadth of the afterlives³ of biblical texts, existing in media previously considered outside the realm of Biblical Studies, including, but not limited to, visual art, music, and film. Additionally, the term points to the ethically significant nature of reading the Bible. While all receptions must be considered, they need not all be regarded as equal, and some must even be rejected (Seow 2009: 574). In the case of my project, Jewish and Christian traditions' utilization of the Septuagint's assignment of authorship to Jeremiah, who eclipses Zion, has observable and ethically significant consequences for the treatment of survivors of catastrophe, particularly women.

While selectivity in reference is required, such discernment renders projects like mine vulnerable to critique. In selecting to consider 'consequences' of the interpretation of Zion and Jeremiah, I have tried as much as possible to seek sources in which both Jeremiah and Daughter Zion figure. Due to the paucity of references to Daughter Zion in cultural resources beyond explicit exegesis, at times, receptions of Jeremiah predominate.

Zion's prominence within MT Lamentations

Within MT Lamentations, the figure of Daughter Zion emerges as the major speaker of the first two chapters, where her strident voice of protest is complemented and introduced by a largely sympathetic narrator. The prominence of her voice owes in large part to Lamentations' membership within the genre inaugurated by Mesopotamian city-lament, particularly Sumerian lament from the Ur-III period.⁴ Sumerian city-lament spotlights goddesses' experience of their constituent cities' annihilation. The goddesses suffer their cities' destruction as violence against their own bodies or as a painful experience like childbirth. Though suffering themselves, the goddesses entreat the male deities to intervene on behalf of the victimized cities. However, the gods remain callously impassive to the goddesses' complaints.

In Lamentations, Daughter Zion advocates for herself and her people. She bears a vestige of the Mesopotamian goddesses' divinity; while at least temporarily

dethroned, she has been a “princess” (1:1). In 1:10, the temple is “*her* holy place”, her body the locus of worship, as the goddesses’ houses are in the Mesopotamian city-laments. She acts as an interlocutor with YHWH himself, demanding that he take seriously her complaints of injustice. References to Zion’s sinfulness are rather sparse in Lamentations 1–2, and only in 1:8 and 1:14 does an explicit statement of her sinfulness appear.

Jeremiah’s prominence in the Septuagint (LXX)

The authoritative Daughter Zion found in MT Lamentations vanishes within the book’s history of consequences. She does not disappear accidentally; rather, interpreters’ use of the Septuagint’s statement of Jeremican authorship systematically and thoroughly erases her. LXX Lamentations opens with an incipit not found in the Hebrew Lamentations: “And it happened, after Israel was taken captive and Ierusalem was laid waste, that Jeremiah sat weeping and gave this lament over Jerusalem and said” (LXX Lam 1:1).

Thus, the entirety of Lamentations can be taken as spoken by Jeremiah himself, and within his speech, there appears to be little room for Zion to lament. At crucial moments in the Hebrew text of Lam 1 and 2 (e.g. 1:11), where the speaker seems to transition from the narrator to Zion herself, in the Greek, the speaker could remain Jeremiah. Additionally, the dramatic opening of chapter 3, “I am the man”, fits seamlessly into the LXX opening of Lamentations, where the man may easily be Jeremiah, while the man’s identity remains enigmatic in the Hebrew.

The LXX’s assignment of authorship of Lamentations to Jeremiah and the prominence of Jeremiah within the book set the standard for later translations of Lamentations. However, the invisibility of and stigma upon Daughter Zion in later interpretation are not inevitable. Zion’s minimization is a function of the *use* of the Septuagint translation to suppress women’s lament via the stigmatization of emotion.

Jeremiah and Daughter Zion in Jewish traditions

Within Jewish interpretation of Lamentations, the Targum’s ascription of authorship to Jeremiah, following the Septuagint, set a precedent for the further masculinization of the text. While the Targum sets Jeremiah as the speaker of the entire poetry, his speech recollects conversations between other characters as well. In stark contrast with God’s deafening silence in MT Lamentations, the Targum allows the Attribute of Justice to respond to Zion’s complaints in Lam 2:20, vindicating God from charges of wrongdoing through recounting Jerusalem’s punishable offenses. While in MT Lamentations, the lack of divine response to Zion’s accusations validates the furor of her emotions, the Targum’s supply of a response renders Zion’s grief and anger misplaced. The Targum’s role within liturgical reading effected the lessening of the book’s emotionality (Alexander 2008: 77). Daughter Zion’s emotional critique of God could be replaced and modulated through insertion of male voices.

Lamentations Rabbah masculinizes the speech of Lamentations as well. God, a masculine figure, interjects, weeping to demonstrate his sorrow at the captivity of Zion's children. While God's emotional response is theologically reassuring, it accomplishes the stripping of Zion's lament from her. Parallel to Zion in Lamentations, God himself refuses consolation for the destruction of Jerusalem and bereavement

On three occasions the ministering angels wanted to recite a song before the Holy One, blessed be He, but he did not allow them to do so . . . at the destruction of the house of the sanctuary: "That is why I say, 'Let me be, I will weep bitterly. Press not to comfort me [for the ruin of my poor people]' "

(Petihta 24, 10 A, H; Neusner 1989: 70)

In contrast to the emotional muting that takes place in the Targum, the midrash transfers feeling from Zion to God.

Linafelt understands God's parental role as removing the necessity of Zion's lament:

God has taken up the posture of personified Zion in Lamentations, that of the mourner . . . it is of course the loss of children (or a child) that has engendered the response and brought God to the state of emotional breakdown and halakhic liminality.

(Linafelt 2000: 108)

However, Linafelt does not comment on what is *lost* in the enhancement of God's emotionality. Zion's embodied experience of agony as the consequence of the city's destruction in the MT is not the equivalent of God's distant tears.

Certain *piyyutim* represent a unique afterlife of Lamentations within Jewish traditions.⁵ Linafelt identifies the *piyyutim* of Eleazar ben Kallir as particularly engaged with Zion's voice (Linafelt 2000: 120). In these *piyyutim* composed for the Sabbaths of Consolation, Zion confronts the male figures (Jeremiah and God himself) who supplant her elsewhere in tradition. While God attempts to characterize Zion's condition as a function of a broken yet redeemable marriage (Linafelt 2000: 122), Zion continues to insist upon her experiences as sexual assault, echoing MT Lamentation's language

He cast me out like a menstruant
and he pushed me away from before him,
He trapped me heavily and did not give me rest.
My eyes overflow with rebuke; he has disputed against me.
Why forever has he abandoned me, forgotten me?

(Stern 2004: 149)

Reversing the trend to attribute her speech to God or Jeremiah, in saying "my eyes flow with rebuke", Zion echoes Lam 2:11, a line spoken by the narrator or

Jeremiah in traditional interpretations. Furthermore, Kallir's *piyyutim* refuse such a resolution to Zion's pain, thus validating her emotional experience.

These *piyyutim* are anomalous within the liturgical use of Lamentations. The recitation of Lamentations within the Tisha B'av season represents a significant preservation of Zion's voice. However, the use of Zion's voice in this context reflects interpretation heavily influenced by the Septuagint's re-reading of Zion. The framing of Zion's voice within the Tisha B'av season "articulate[s] a narrative of sin-punishment-redemption which extends from Israel's past through the present into the future" (Stern 2004: 14). Situated as the reading of Lamentations is within the Deuteronomistic theology of The Torah, even the accounts of catastrophic destruction of Jerusalem in Lamentations are balanced with "assertions of divine control of history" (Stern 2004: 34). In the weeks immediately preceding Tisha B'av, the *haftarot* of rebuke, corresponding to the periods preceding 587 BCE and 70 CE, explain the forthcoming punishment of Daughter Zion as a function of her sin.

The Shoah represents an intense problematization of traditional understandings of Lamentations that stigmatize Daughter Zion as sufferer while promoting Jeremiah. Naomi Seidman reflects on Lamentations in response to her parents' experiences as Holocaust survivors and her own narrative as a second-generation survivor. In light of these experiences, the tradition of Lamentations' reception is particularly troubling, as indicated in the title of her reflection: "Burning the Book of Lamentations". The theological justification of Zion's suffering and male voices' subsuming her seems unacceptable. At the same time, Seidman understands the worshipping community on Tisha B'av as re-memorizing Zion's vulnerable body through the vulnerability of survival. She sees the shadow of worshippers forming for a second time the monstrous shape of a lopsided-breasted woman, as if we were seeing our own reflections mounted into a single enormous female figure. Jerusalem sways and shakes her big skirts, crooning in the hoarse voice of the old stockbroker or diamond cutter on the other side of her veils (Seidman 1994: 281).

Thus, as much as the interpretive tradition demotes Zion in favor of Jeremiah, catastrophe can force a reconstitution of her character. The femininity of Daughter Zion can give license for expressions of grief generally censured.

Jeremiah and Daughter Zion in Christian traditions

Christian traditions also suppress the emotional voice of Daughter Zion through the imposition of a relatively impassive Jeremiah as author. The difference in density of representation of Jeremiah and Daughter Zion in visual art signals Jeremiah's dominance in the Christian history of consequences. Heath A. Thomas comments, "It would be interesting to see a reception of Lamentations in the visual arts with an explicit emphasis upon the persona of Daughter Zion but such a work is unknown" (Thomas 2011: Kindle edition). While Jeremiah's sorrow takes the place of Zion's in art, the two are qualitatively different emotions; in contrast to the unrestrained grief which Zion exhibits, Jeremiah's mourning appears restrained and morose. For example, Rembrandt Van Rijn's *Jeremiah Lamenting*

the Destruction of Jerusalem (1630) shows Jeremiah climbing up a high mountain to survey Jerusalem's destruction.⁶ The scene of destruction he surveys renders Jeremiah merely meditative, not distraught. Daughter Zion's unabashed grief is nowhere to be found.

Zion's invisibility in art is emblematic of the Christian consequences of the Septuagint's declaration of Jeremiah's authorship. Jeremiah's preeminence rendered Lamentations more acceptable through suppression of its 'female' lament content. Basil of Caesarea was among those who heavily gendered their critiques of ritual lament.⁷ Basil remarked

Therefore neither men nor women should be permitted too much lamentation and mourning. They should show moderate distress in their affliction, with only a few tears, shed quietly and without moaning, wailing, or tearing of clothes and groveling in the dust, or committing any other indecency commonly practiced by the ungodly.

(Basil, *de Gratiarum Actione* PG 31.229c)

Strong rhetoric like this, critical of women's lament, clarifies the marginality of Lamentations within the Christian canon and the diminishment of Daughter Zion's role in deference to Jeremiah's.

Although preserved only through Byzantine catenae, Origen's work on Lamentations is the earliest known complete commentary on the book from the Patristic period. The opening to Origen's commentary assumes the Jeremianic authorship of Lamentations: "Jeremiah, while the people are captive in Babylon, makes his lamentations over the city, the country, and the people because of what has happened" (Origen, *Commentary on Lamentations*, I). Thus, while Jeremiah remains the primary speaker, Jerusalem loses the embodiment she possesses within Lamentations, allegorized instead as the "divine soul" which has been "degraded" through forgetting the "great things" which constitute her true identity (Origen, *Commentary on Lamentations*, XXIII). Daughter Zion is no longer a speaker, but an object.

Furthermore, Origen explains Zion's degradation in terms of her surrender to emotion, which sets her apart from the more stoic Jeremiah. God's abandonment of Zion is a function of her vulnerability to emotion: "Moreover, having abandoned the reason within her so as to be wholly dominated by the passions, she has lost her helper, the one always arming her against distress" (Origen, *Commentary on Lamentations*, XXV). However, since Origen assumes Jeremiah is speaking, the high level of emotionality in the latter portion of Lamentations 1 (which most contemporary interpreters assign to Zion) troubles him. Origen considers that "[i]t is possible that, 'See, Lord, my humility' is spoken figuratively by the reason that subsists in the soul, dishonored and humiliated, having lost, so to speak, its proper dominion" (Origen, *Commentary on Lamentations*, XXIII). Zion herself remains mute, her 'passions' too great to deliver the dialogue herself.

Gregory the Great, who frequently cites Lamentations in his *Moralia on Job*, works also to minimize Zion's role as a speaker. The sorrow of note in Lam 1:12

is Jeremiah's, disallowing a transition to Zion's speech at that point in the text. Meanwhile, the female embodiment of the MT Lamentations' portrayal of Zion disappears; he masculinizes the tears on Zion's cheeks as "the preachers of the church" rather than a product of Zion's bodily emotional experience (Gregory, *Moral* XIII, xii, 15). Thus, even when Daughter Zion appears in Gregory's citations, he recasts her emotion in masculine terms that dull her experience.

The Christian insistence on Jeremiah as the male and sole speaker of Lamentations 1–2 sets the precedent for Lamentations 3, in which the "man" (*geber*) speaks, to become the focus of interpretation. Irenaeus's interpretation of the *geber* is "not typological or allegorical but *prophetic* at root" (Thomas 2011). Irenaeus employs Lam 3:30, "He shall give his cheek to the smiter: he shall be filled with reproaches", in his characterization of Christ as the Suffering Servant.⁸ Similarly, Rufinus, a medieval commentator, cites Lam. 3:53, "They have cut off my life in the pit and laid a stone upon me", as prophesying Christ's death and burial (Rufinus, *Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, 27).

The prophetic view of Lamentations 3 sets the tone for the liturgical use of Lamentations, which appears almost exclusively in Holy Week services. In these services, Lamentations 1 and 2 are often read. However, though Zion's voice as a sufferer is heard, her guilt is on display: "The Lamentation texts for this service speak of the affliction that has come to the city as a result of the crimes of the people" (Cameron-Mowat 2011). The reading of these texts within the context of Christ's passion and death suggests that, just as Jeremiah co-opts Zion's voice in interpretations following the Septuagint, Christ co-opts Zion's voice in Christian liturgical uses of Lamentations, her sinfulness necessitating his sacrificial death.

As Christian commentators viewed Lamentations as prophecies of Christ's Passion, Zion's pronounced lament became emblematic of her lack of faith. In contrast, Jeremiah's more composed demeanor signaled his proper theological posture in view of the resurrection. For example, John Calvin writes of Jeremiah that "he did not yet indulge his grief nor cherish his amazement; but as we shall see, he restrained himself, lest the excess of his feelings should carry him beyond due bounds" (Calvin 1950: 304). In contrast, Zion's grief is untoward because, in addition to lacking proper hope in God's restoration of repentant sinners, she has brought the punishment upon herself:

There is then no doubt but that the church intimates that God was the author of that sorrow which she deplored. And it is necessary to know this, lest men should be carried away into excesses in their mourning, as it frequently happens.

(Calvin 1950: 326)

In contemporary non-feminist commentary, Zion still frequently suffers stigmatization for her emotional expression. For example, Tremper Longmann conceives of Lamentations 3's imagery of the Divine Warrior as finding its fulfillment in Christ: "Jesus Christ is the Divine Warrior who fights on behalf of his people against the most powerful enemy of all, Satan" (Longmann 2008: 338). In contrast, Longmann understands Daughter Zion quite negatively. Speaking of the

imagery of sexual abuse found in Lam 1:12, he writes: “it is clear that this [sexual abuse] is a well-deserved punishment” (Longmann 2008: 352).

Longmann does not clarify whether he regards Zion’s deservingness of sexual abuse as his personal interpretation or the author’s assumed perspective. However, his statement, left unqualified, illustrates how readings of the Bible have ethical consequences, in this case reinforcing the tendency to victim-blame in cases of sexual assault. The heaping of blame upon Zion for the experiences she is suffering arises from her characterization as a foil to male figures – beginning with the ascription of Lamentations’ authorship to Jeremiah. Zion’s emotional experience and subsequent lament lack validity because she ‘deserves’ the treatment she receives.

Conclusion

Christian and Jewish interpreters have generally deployed the Septuagint’s ascription of Lamentations’ authorship to Jeremiah in order to minimize Daughter Zion’s voice in Lamentations. This minimization is due not only to Daughter Zion’s femininity, but also to the theologically challenging expression of her emotion. The understanding of Jeremiah as the primary speaker in Lamentations 1–2 sets the precedence for male-centered readings of Lamentations in which God, the *geber* of Lamentations 3, and (in the case of Christian readers) Christ subsume Daughter Zion’s voice as well.

However, a feminist reading of Lamentations need not necessarily preclude Jeremican influence. Nancy C. Lee simultaneously argues for Jeremiah’s contribution and keeps Zion at the forefront of interpretation. Taking an oral poetic approach, Lee contends that Jeremiah is a speaker/poet of Lamentations, but not the only speaker/poet, as in Lamentations 1–2, he is joined by a female voice who speaks the part of Daughter Zion. For Lee, the *absence* of an introduction to Daughter Zion’s voice (cf. Jeremiah’s quotations of other figures with an introduction like, ‘Rachel weeps’) signals the presence of a female voice separate from Jeremiah’s in its own right (Lee 2002: 45). Consideration of the potential for a relationship between the Books of Jeremiah and Lamentations need not erase Daughter Zion’s voice.

Notes

- 1 Following Dobbs-Allsopp (1995: 452), I translate בַּת-צִיּוֹן as Daughter Zion, recognizing the construct chain as a genitive of location in the tradition of ANE of naming deities. The geographical location reflects the place where the deity is worshipped. I will refer sometimes to Daughter Zion as simply ‘Zion’ for the sake of brevity.
- 2 I draw the imagery of literary palimpsests from Genette (1997).
- 3 I draw the language of literary afterlives from Sherwood (2000).
- 4 See, for example, Dobbs-Allsopp (1993), Gwaltney (1983).
- 5 Stern (2004: 114) defines *piyyutim* as

substitutions for, or insertions into, the statutory prayers of the Sabbath and festival liturgies. . . . The practice of *piyyut* developed in order to avoid the boredom of repetition and to integrate thematic material from the lectionary or from the life of the congregation into the *amidah*.

- 6 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem*, 1630, Oil on panel, 58 cm x 46 cm, Rijksmuseum, www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-3276.
- 7 For detailed analysis of the Christian resistance to lament, see Alexiou (1974).
- 8 Irenaeus, paragraph 68, www.ccel.org/ccel/irenaeus/demonstr.html.

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- Rembrandt van Rijn. *Jeremiah Lamenting the Destruction of Jerusalem*, 1630. Oil on panel, 58 cm x 46 cm. Rijksmuseum, www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-3276.

11 Jeremiah never saw that coming

How Jesus miscalculated the end times

Deane Galbraith

Hans-Georg Gadamer maintained that the process of *understanding* a biblical text does not merely consist of faithfully repeating what we have read. Rather, understanding requires an act of reception. That is, understanding requires self-involvement in what has been received, a dialogue between text and receiver (Gadamer 1977: 45). We need to bring more than just our philological and historical expertise to the biblical text if we are to ascertain its context and inherent worldview: we must permit the text to make its claim on us, to challenge our way of thinking. For Gadamer, understanding such a text requires that historical consciousness be complemented by our *self-consciousness*, in particular our “consciousness of being [always already] affected by history” (*wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein*) (Gadamer 2004: 302–4). So the way I come to understand a text will necessarily differ from the ways others have or will come to understand the same text at other times or in different cultures (Gadamer 2004: 301).

It follows that, for Gadamer, reception history cannot be reduced to a supplement to historical-critical interpretation. Yet unfortunately, this is precisely how reception history within Biblical Studies has too often been treated, reduced to cataloguing and explicating ‘later’ interpretations and effects all thought to occur after a distinct ‘original’ composition.¹ For Gadamer, however, reception is an essential component of interpretation, a precondition for all interpretation and understanding (2004: 300; cf. Evans 2014: 8, 17). A text’s history of effects is constitutive of that very text. Gadamer’s conception of “reception history” (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) thus challenges the tendency within Biblical Studies to relegate reception history to a secondary status, as an activity which might be carried out after the ‘serious’ business of exegesis has been concluded.

This is not to deny the intrinsic value of studying later influences and effects of biblical texts. To some extent, what I will do in this essay employs just this sense of *Wirkungsgeschichte*: an examination of the direct and indirect historical influences of Jeremiah’s 70-year prophecy (Jeremiah 25; 29) on Jesus’s apocalyptic understanding. Yet this endeavour, following Gadamer, *also* seeks to “make conscious the prejudices governing our own understanding, so that the text, as another’s meaning, can be isolated and valued on its own” (Gadamer 2004: 298). Scholarship on Jesus’s apocalyptic worldview is accordingly treated as a case study for understanding Gadamer’s claim that historical consciousness must be

complemented by self-consciousness. As we shall see below, even the most ardent supporters of an apocalyptic Jesus have continued to exhibit a distinctly modern prejudice against the so-called arcane and esoteric aspects of ancient Jewish apocalypticism. It is this modern prejudice that a foregrounding of *Wirkungsgeschichte* helps makes visible, even if – as Gadamer acknowledges – complete critical self-awareness is never finally possible (2004: 301).

According to Gadamer, our understanding of an historical text not only expands our (single) horizon of knowledge, but creates a tension between our horizon of knowledge and the different historical horizon of the text (2004: 305). Gadamer's well-known account of the process of textual understanding is that it requires a "fusion of horizons" (*Horizontverschmelzung*) rather than the mere "formation" of a single, new horizon of knowledge (2004: 305). While it is of course true that a person only has access to their own, subjective horizon of knowledge, it is a horizon scarred by the history of its formation, its traumatic contact with other horizons of knowledge. Such a process, explains Charles Taylor, will make a history of the Roman Empire carried out "in twenty-fifth century China or twenty-second century Brazil" necessarily different from each other and from our own histories. "They will have to overcome different blocks to understanding; they will find the people of that time puzzling in ways that we do not; they will need to make them comprehensible through a different set of terms" (Taylor 2002: 133). The *object* of knowledge is the same, but its human *subjects* differ. So for Gadamer, the Hebrew Bible cannot be simply absorbed or assimilated into the understanding of either modern historical criticism or traditional Christian theology without first experiencing the trauma of textual alterity, necessitating the negotiation of the same text in quite different ways, and so with different resultant understandings (Gadamer 1977: 46).

The tension between competing horizons is exemplified, I suggest, in Jesus's knowing wink during the Mt. of Olives discourse: "let the reader understand" (Mark 13:14). As I will explicate below, Jesus's 'knowing wink' thereby alludes to Daniel's "abomination of desolation", and thus also alludes to Daniel's 70 year-weeks, and more obliquely to Jeremiah's 70-year prophecy and its interpretation of the laws of the Jubilee. But Jesus's interpretation cannot be straightforwardly confirmed in these scriptures; for this we need what Jesus refers to as the reader's "understanding" of Daniel and Jeremiah, which turns out to be no less than Jesus's *own* understanding of these scriptures. There is a paradox here: the inner group of disciples are told that confirmation of the truth of what Jesus predicts simply requires reading and understanding Daniel's text (Mk 13:14); yet Jesus's speech is presented as an interpretation which lies hidden from most readers of Daniel and which must therefore be revealed to his select disciples (Mk 13:3–4). Understanding is not something the disciples already possessed, but occurs contemporaneously with their reception and acceptance of Jesus's explanation. Past tradition and present knowledge stand in a tension that must be resolved for understanding to be reached, and this resolution leaves behind the scars of conflicting horizons. Jesus reconfigures his disciples' reading (of Daniel's 70 year-weeks) which itself had earlier reconfigured Jeremiah's 70 years and Levitical laws about the Sabbath

I and the Jubilee. Jesus broadens their horizons of knowledge, not by answering their question on their own terms, but by answering in a manner that forces his most attentive disciples to reframe the question which is to be asked. Such a mix of consciousness and self-consciousness is inherent to any process of understanding the Other. A Gadamerian critical orientation to interpretation thus offers a far richer and potentially more rewarding conception of reception history.

The apocalyptic . . . but not *too* apocalyptic Jesus

Contemporary New Testament scholarship has once again embraced the apocalyptic Jesus – the Jesus who believed that his generation, some 2000 years ago, would witness the end of the world as we know it.² Although, with the benefit of hindsight, Jesus clearly got these matters wrong, his expectation of an imminent eschaton was unremarkable within the milieu of first-century Judaism. Even John Dominic Crossan, one of the more prominent opponents of the current consensus, acknowledges that a non-apocalyptic Jesus would have been “a non-apocalyptic island in an apocalyptic sea just as Gandhi was a non-violent island in a violent sea” (Crossan 2001: 122). What should be observed is the “double discontinuity” of Crossan’s non-apocalyptic Jesus vis-à-vis his Jewish context: a non-apocalyptic Jesus would neither fit earlier Jewish tradition nor recollections of Jesus’s own earliest (Jewish) followers (Allison 1998: 54). The Jesus construed by Crossan turns out, to employ James Crossley’s phrase, to be “Jewish . . . but not *that* Jewish”, just as his Gandhi is oddly Indian . . . but not *that* Indian.³ The awkward inconsistency disappears in the case of Jesus, if we understand that his teachings were profoundly shaped by contemporary Jewish apocalyptic expectations.

One of the reasons for the position taken by older proponents of a *non*-apocalyptic Jesus was that they found it difficult to reconcile Jesus’s ethics, seen as exemplary for modern liberal thought, with his apocalyptic teachings about judgement, hell-fire, cosmic conflagration, and satanic powers, considered an embarrassment to those same liberal sentiments. Christian H. Weisse, for example, protested that

a spirit of such greatness as Jesus . . . cannot have degenerated to imagining such a fancy [as the coming of the Son of Man] as only originates in a sick brain. Out of the same mouth that announced the preaching of the gospel in conditions of affliction and distress of every kind . . . it was impossible that in the next moment there could proceed an utterance constructed out of the most narrow and superstitious belief in the symbolic saying of a fantastic book [i.e., Daniel], which ignorance or deceit had attributed to a renowned old prophet, and out of the most extravagant, half-insane imagination!

(Weisse 1838: 594–5)

David Strauss similarly contended that if the historical Jesus had preached the Parousia, he must have been a “fanatic” (*Schwärmer*) (Strauss 1864: 236). The charge of “fanatic” was widely repeated in 19th-century liberal scholarship, desirous of a Jesus much more level-headed than the wide-eyed fanatics supposed to inhabit apocalyptic circles (see further in Beasley-Murray 1993: 20–31).

Yet what I wish to contend is that even among contemporary proponents of the apocalyptic Jesus there exists a residual aversion to the seemingly ‘wackier’ aspects of ancient Jewish apocalypticism. The tendency is to accept a Jesus who was *a little crazy* by modern standards, but not *that crazy*.

So for example, Dale Allison, perhaps the foremost contemporary defender of the apocalyptic Jesus, still states: “If one insists on associating the adjective *apocalyptic* with timetables, numerology, and esotericism, with revelatory ascents, mythological beasts, and maplike forecasts, then *apocalyptic* is the wrong word for Jesus, who, in our sources, is innocent of such interests” (Allison 2010: 32–3). Note that Allison is not merely claiming that such apocalyptic interests are *de-emphasised* in the Gospels, but that Jesus is “innocent” of them, untouched by the seemingly more fanatical elements of the apocalypticism which Jesus otherwise embraces.

Allison’s standpoint here is similar to Rudolf Bultmann’s, whom he cites. Bultmann made a firm distinction between those aspects of apocalypticism Jesus adopted and those he did not, categorising the latter as mere “fantasy”.⁴ “Jesus does take over the apocalyptic picture of the future, but he does so with significant reduction of detail . . . Signs of the time there are, indeed, but not such as those after which apocalyptic fantasy peers” (Bultmann 1951: 6).

It is true that we must carefully differentiate Jesus’s teachings and actions from those of his influences and contemporaries. I would not want to deny either the variegated nature of what falls within the broad category of apocalyptic or to obscure the particularities of Jesus’s own apocalyptic worldview. But the question remains whether – given the constellation of apocalyptic ideas and texts that Jesus explicitly shares with other contemporary apocalyptic texts – Allison is right to exclude completely other topics that are prominent within those texts. Put another way, why would we expect Jesus to be “innocent” of such concerns as so-called “numerology” (or, less polemically, schematic periodisation of human history) or eschatological timetables, given their centrality to so many forms of apocalypticism? The suspicion is that modern sensibilities and prejudices of the kind evident in the construction of 19th-century liberal Jesus figures continue to be operative here, imposing a dubious opposition between the supposedly “innocent” apocalypticism of Jesus and the allegedly more crazy or “esoteric” apocalypticism of other first-century Jews. One risk is, as Gadamer puts it, that the Other is only understood “in terms of our own selves”, not in its own otherness (Gadamer 2004: 300).

It is not enough to object that extensive eschatological calculations and timetables are apparently absent from the Gospels. There is at least one good reason why many details of Jesus’s own apocalyptic timetable might have been omitted: calculations of an imminent eschaton would very soon have become embarrassing. The matter does not, however, devolve into an argument from silence; for as I will argue below, distinct traces of Jesus’s apocalyptic calculations survive in the gospels. Furthermore, we must reckon with the fact that all of Jesus’s eschatological teachings assume that his hearers already possessed widespread knowledge of end-times scenarios, and consequently did not spell out all the details. As Allison maintains,

we must honor the fact that Jesus always took much for granted. Certain eschatological expectations were, to judge from the literary remains, widespread in

the first century. So he could communicate with his contemporaries by alluding to those expectations, or to the well-known texts that supported them. In other words, there was little need to spell out the minutiae of an eschatological scenario, for he shared so much with so many of his contemporaries.

(Allison 2010: 130)

The major case in point would be Jesus's teaching about the Kingdom of God, which while central to Jesus's teaching, assumes his hearers' familiarity with its essential properties, and so results in many of its features remaining unstated in the gospels (Casey 2010: 212–13). Jesus's eschatology is primarily to be inferred, without "inferring too much from things left unsaid", and "primarily by investigating what his sayings presuppose and imply" (Allison 2010: 131). In what follows, I will argue that Jesus's implicit adherence to an end-times timetable remains evident in his Mt. of Olives discourse (Mark 13:3–37) and in his first public proclamation at Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30).

The apocalyptic timetable in Jesus's Mt. of Olives discourse (Mark 13:3–37)

The Mt. of Olives discourse, in Mark 13:3–37 (and parallels), provides the first basis for concluding that Jesus, like his contemporaries, was following a timetable or chronology of the end times. Almost all of the discourse is consistent with Jesus's authentic teachings about the end times elsewhere in the gospels, and it may be argued that there are no insurmountable objections to its substantial attribution to the historical Jesus (albeit with inevitable colouring by later interests).⁵

According to Mark 13:3–4, the Mt. of Olives discourse is triggered by a question raised by four of Jesus's inner circle of disciples, concerning the time and the sign of the end. Jesus replies, after an extensive description of preliminary events, by describing "the abomination of desolation" (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως; Mark 13:14), the profanation of the Jewish temple referred to in the 70-week-year prophecy of Daniel 9:24–27 (and also in Dan 11:31 and 12:11). As I will argue, Jesus's meaning should further be understood in the light of a dozen or so Jewish texts, composed between the second century BCE and the end of the first century CE, which provide detailed eschatological interpretations of the abomination of desolation or 70 week-years in Daniel 9:24–27 or of the 70 weeks of its precursor text, Jeremiah 25/29. It is significant that *every one of these texts* is also interested in the timeframe and calculations within Jeremiah 25/29 and Dan 9:24–27, interpreted as providing a countdown to the end times. From the intertwined reception history of Jeremiah 25/29 and Dan 9:24–27, we have a compelling basis to understand Jesus's own more oblique references to Daniel's 70 week-years.

Allusions to Daniel and temporal markers in Mark 13

The Mt. of Olives discourse in Mark 13 is suffused by multiple allusions and citations of Daniel. Lars Hartman overstates the case by categorising Mark 13 as

“a midrash” on Daniel, but he is certainly correct that Daniel’s influence on the chapter is pervasive (Hartman 1966: 207). For example, the “wars and rumour of wars” which Mark’s Jesus situates before “the end” (Mark 13:7) closely reflect the prediction in Daniel that “to the end [οὓπω τὸ τέλος] there shall be war” (Dan 9:26; cf. 7:21; 11:21–35; Hartman 1966: 148). The placement of these wars in the period immediately before the eschaton also occurs in Dan 11:26, whose description of such wars includes the words, למועד קץ כִּי־עֹד (“there remains an end at the appointed time”; Hartman 1966: 149). Also, the ‘nation against nation’ or ‘X against X’ formula, used of both national and familial conflict in the end times (Mark 13:8, 12; cf. Jub 23:19–23; 1 En 99:15–100.1–3), would seem especially drawn from Dan 11’s description of the ongoing battles between the “contemptible person” and the King of the south (Hartman 1966: 148).

There are further allusions to Daniel in the following verses. The handing over of Jesus’s followers (Mark 13:9) utilises the motif of the end-times persecution of the righteous, and in particular the handing over of “the holy ones” to the final gentile king in Dan 7:25 for “a time, two times, and half a time” before they inherit the “eternal kingdom” (Hartman 1966: 150; Pitre 2005: 261). Brant Pitre makes the further observation that

the fact that this handing over will only be for a set period of time (“a time, two times, and half a time”) (Dan 7:25) may also provide the impetus for Jesus’ call for endurance to “the end” – i.e., to the end of the appointed period of persecution (Mark 13:13).

(Pitre 2005: 148)

Similarly, Mark 13:19’s description of unparalleled suffering in the last days includes “a virtual citation of Dan 12:1b LXX”, with only one small change: “until that day” becomes “until now” (Marcus 1999: 896). Behind Daniel’s period of unparalleled suffering is Jeremiah’s vision of a “time of tribulation” with “none like it” (Jer 30:7; Pitre 2005: 60; Collins 1993: 391). Given the pervasive dependence on Daniel within Mark 13, it is also significant that the beginning of Jesus’s discourse, which refers to those who will “come in my name” and “lead many astray” (Mark 13:5–6), includes a very likely reference to Jeremiah. For Jer 29:8–9 contains both of the phrases found in Mark 13:5–6, immediately preceding the 70-year prophecy (Jer 29:10), the precursor text for Dan 9:24–27. Jesus’s discourse therefore interweaves references to *both* Daniel’s 70-week-year prophecy and Jeremiah’s 70-year prophecy into his own prediction of the end times – whether deliberately or subconsciously is impossible to determine.

Mark 13’s essential structure, as a question and extended answer, and the importance of temporal markers and signs within both the question and the answer, indicate the chapter’s most important link with Daniel. The device that sets up Jesus’s discourse about the end times is the question by the disciples in v. 4: “Tell us, when will “these things” (ταῦτα) be? And what is the sign, when all these things (ταῦτα . . . πάντα) will be accomplished?” The question establishes the central concern of the discourse from the beginning, in its references to temporal markers

and signs of the end times. The distinctive phrase “when all these things will be accomplished” (ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα) is very close to the words used in the angel’s reply to Daniel in Dan 12:7 (Hartman 1966: 145). When Daniel asks when the abomination of desolation and other signs of the end will occur, the angel replies that “all these things will be accomplished” (συντελεσθήσεται πάντα ταῦτα) after “a time, two times, and half a time”, or three and a half years (Dan 12:7). Therefore, the link between the abomination of desolation and the time of the end – and in particular the final three-and-a-half-year period – is already implicit in the disciples’ question in Mark 13:4, before being made explicit in 13:14.

It is unlikely that ταῦτα (“these things”) and ταῦτα . . . πάντα (“all these things”) in Mark 13:4 refer to different events.⁶ The *time* of “these things” and the *sign* of “all these things” are two ways of identifying the critical event which will signal the ultimate end. The same pairing occurs in Mark 13:29–30, and with the same phrase Ὅταν δὲ (“but when”) that is used to introduce the abomination of desolation in 13:14. Yet in 13:29–30, ταῦτα refers to the *sign* of the end and ταῦτα . . . πάντα refers to the *time* of the end – the reverse of the referents in the disciples’ question in 13:4 (Stein 2014: 65). The two phrases are thus interchangeable (Stein 2014: 65). So when Jesus identifies the sign of the end in 13:14 (the abomination of desolation), this identifies both the sign of the end and, implicitly, the time of the end.

Mark 13:14 also contains Jesus’s first direct answer to his disciples’ question. As Martin Hengel observed, the abomination of desolation in 13:14 is the first thing spoken of as being *seen* following the disciples’ question about the *sign* of the end in 13:4 (Hengel 1985: 19). In addition, 13:14 describes the first event which relates specifically to *the temple*: the setting up of the abomination “where it ought not to be”. The earlier descriptions of earthquakes, wars, and famines, etc., were just building up to this. The initial part of Jesus’s answer, vv. 5–13, did not provide a direct answer to the disciples’ question, and Jesus four times repeats that what he is discussing in this part of his discourse (false messiahs, wars, earthquakes, famines, persecution, internecine violence) does not constitute the sign of the end of which the disciples had inquired: v. 7b: “this must take place [δεῖ γενέσθαι], but the end is still to come”; v. 8c: “this is but the beginning of the birth pangs”; v. 10: “And the good news must first be proclaimed to all nations”; v. 13b: “But the one who endures to the end will be saved”. Again, the phrases invoke Daniel; “this must soon take place” (δεῖ γενέσθαι, lit. “it is necessary to happen”) is a clear allusion to Dan 2:28/29’s ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι / מה־די להוא (“what is necessary to happen”; Hartman 1966: 147; Pitre 2005: 227–8). Before the appearance of the abomination of desolation, waiting, vigilance, and endurance of suffering were required; from Mark 13:14 everything changes: what is required is to act fast and flee to the hills.

When Jesus identifies the abomination of desolation as the sign of the end times, he directs his disciples to the Book of Daniel in order to discover its full meaning. This is the significance of the words, “let the reader understand” (Mark 13:14). Older critical scholarship tended to dismiss the phrase as Mark’s interjection to

the Gospel reader or as a later scribal addition. But Pitre and Stein have in the last decade made persuasive arguments that the phrase is integral to the chapter, and key to Jesus's own answer to his disciples (Pitre 2005: 310–11; Stein 2014: 86). Pitre notes that Jesus's admonition to let the reader understand has the same form and function as other third-person injunctions in the Gospels, for example, "Let he who has ear to hear listen" (Mark 4:9); "Let he who has ears listen!" (Matt 11:15; cf. Luke 14:35; G. Thom 8, 21, 24, 63, 65, 96); "Let he who is able to accept this accept it!" (Matt 19:12). Each of these expressions is uttered immediately after Jesus has just provided a difficult or oblique saying or "enigmatic allusion to scripture" – which is also the case in Mark 13:14 with its reference to Dan 9:24–27 (Pitre 2005: 312). Thus the reader referred to in Mark 13:14 is the knowledgeable, esoteric reader of the Book of Daniel, who understands that book in light of Jesus's interpretation of it. In fact, this very motif of esoteric understanding is itself derived from the Book of Daniel. According to Daniel 12, Daniel's prophecies were sealed until the time of the end, and could only be understood by the wise. By answering in this way, Jesus reveals the identity of the wise of the end times as none other than Jesus's inner group of disciples (Mark 13:3). They are the privileged ones who can fully understand the major sign of the end times about to be unveiled, and therefore this mode of understanding is made exemplary for the privileged readers of the Gospel of Mark.

From Mark 13 to Dan 9:24–27; 11:31; 12:11 and Jer 25:11 and 29:10

Jesus's statement, "let the reader understand" therefore requires the reader to make an esoteric reading of the passages in which the abomination of desolation are mentioned – (Dan 9:24–27; 11:31; 12:11) – in light of their own times.⁷ Jesus refers readers to the immediate context of the phrase "abomination of desolation" in Daniel, so as to understand how it constitutes a sign of the end times. What they find there is Daniel 9:24–27's timetable of the eschaton, its calculations which reinterpret Jeremiah's 70-year prophecy of the restoration of Judea (Jer 25:11 and 29:10). In Daniel 9:24–27, the angel Gabriel interprets Jeremiah's 70-year prophecy as requiring 70 "weeks" (שבועים), implicitly 70 x 7 years for its fulfilment (Dan 9:24). There will be 69 of these seven-year periods from the command to rebuild Jerusalem to the time that either "an anointing" or an "anointed one" is cut off. In the second half of the final week-year of the 70 week-years, sacrifice will cease in the temple while the abomination of desolation is set up there. The importance of this abomination of desolation and the accompanying cessation of sacrifice is made clear in repeated references in Dan 11:31 and 12:11. Also emphasised is the period in which this occurs, described as "a time, two times, and half a time" (12:7) or "1290 days" (12:11), that is, three and a half years – and the final three and a half years of the 490-year period.

The most explicit biblical basis for Daniel's reinterpretation of Jeremiah's 70 years as 70 "weeks of years" is Lev 25:8, which fixes the jubilee period as "seven weeks of years" (שבתת שנים שבע) or seven sabbatical years. The seventh or sabbatical year

(שמיטה, lit. “release”) was a year of rest for the land in which sowing and pruning of crops were legally proscribed. It is likely that Daniel was influenced in this interpretation by 2 Chron 36:21, which had earlier interpreted Jeremiah’s 70 years of exile as a type of Sabbath rest, in the light of Lev 26:31–35, 43 (Koch 1978: 440; cf. Wacholder 1975: 201–9). Thus Daniel 9 takes this line of interpretation further by making each of the 70 years (Jer 25/29) of rest (2 Chron 36:21) a sabbatical year of rest within a cycle of seven years; so that the 70 years requires *70 sabbatical cycles* (Dimant 1993: 61). As John Bergsma has argued, Jeremiah’s 70 years is probably also extended according to the principle of Lev 26:18: “And if, for all that, you do not obey Me, I will go on to discipline you sevenfold for your sins” (Bergsma 2007: 220). On the basis of Lev 25–26 and 2 Chron 36:21, therefore, Daniel interpreted Jeremiah’s 70 years of exile as imposing a *legal* requirement of 70 sabbatical cycles (490 years) to atone for that exile (Dan 9:24: לכפר עון).

So for Daniel, the 490-year period is prescribed by Torah, reinterpreted according to his mantic exegesis. The 490 years are legally required, to the exact year. The sabbatical year is not a mere metaphor allowing us to view the years as merely symbolic of the eschatological rest. It is viewed as a literal legal requirement that fulfils Torah. Likewise, the early reception of Jeremiah 25/29 and Daniel 9, surveyed below, consistently treated those passages as referring to a literal period before the eschaton. The conclusion also makes sense of the common ancient Jewish formulation of Daniel’s 490 years as ten *jubilees* of 49 years each (for Leviticus 25 also fixes the jubilee period as seven sabbatical years).⁸

Daniel 9:24–27’s legal dependence on Leviticus 25–26 is complemented by the dependence of Daniel’s prayer in Dan 9:4–19 on Leviticus 26, a prayer by which Daniel seeks divine elucidation of the meaning of Jeremiah’s 70-year prophecy (Dan 9:2–3). The very rationale for Daniel’s prayer in Dan 9:4–19 lies in Lev 26:39–42’s requirement for penitence in exile (cf. Deut 30:1–4) combined with Jer 29:12–13’s requirement for exiles to “call on” Yahweh (Lacocque 1976: 123–4; Bergsma 2007: 216–20). Dan 9:4–19 and Lev 26 share such keywords as “desolate”, “confess”, and “iniquity”, corroborating Daniel’s dependence on the Jubilee laws in Leviticus (Bergsma 2007: 218). Ben Zion Wacholder argues that Dan 9:10–14 is, furthermore, aware of 2 Chron 36:21’s use of Leviticus 26 in citing Jeremiah (Wacholder 1975: 202, n. 6). Given the extent of these connections between Daniel 9 and Leviticus 25–26, Bergsma concludes that “it is difficult to imagine that the author [of Daniel 9] was not aware of the jubiliary significance of ‘seventy weeks’ or 490 years” (Bergsma 2007: 226).

Jesus thus offers the “abomination of desolation” as both the sign and temporal marker of the final period in ordinary human history, which he claims only the knowing reader of Daniel will fully “understand” (Mark 13:14). Jesus thereby refers knowing readers to Daniel’s apocalyptic timetable and in particular its reference to the final three-and-a-half-year period of tribulation, and applies that timetable to his own times. As we will see, the primary interest of other major ancient interpreters of Dan 9:24–27, from the second century BCE to the first century CE, also lay in recalculating its apocalyptic timetable in order to apply it to their own times.

Early Jewish reception of Jeremiah's 70 years and Daniel's 70 week-years

A surprising number of Jewish texts before the end of the first century CE record detailed discussions of Dan 9:24–27. Most of these texts also display a keen interest in describing details of the final era of human wickedness, and in applying Daniel's apocalyptic timetable to their own time or future.⁹ The extensive early reception of Dan 9:24–27 therefore provides a likely basis for how Jesus would have read the same passage, especially given his own evident interest (in Mark 13) in predicting the time of the end. The ancient interpretations of Dan 9:24–27 corroborate the conclusion that, when Jesus revealed the time of the end by referring his disciples to the abomination of desolation in Daniel, he was primarily applying Daniel's 490-year apocalyptic timetable, and in particular the very end of that timetable, to his own time. I summarise below a dozen texts which clearly refer to Daniel's end-times calculations.

First, the Book of Jubilees divides all of human history into decades of 49 years, most probably influenced by Daniel, given the equivalence of 10×49 and 7×70 years (Beckwith 2001: 219). The core of Jubilees concerns only the first 50 jubilees (2450 years) of human history, up until the conquest, at which time Israel is able to fulfil the requirements of Torah. But the additions to Jubilees within its first and last chapters, and in particular in Jub 23:14–31 add the requirement for a further series of jubilees, to eliminate evil and bring about Israel's full obedience to Torah (Jub 50:5; 23:26; Berner 2006: 252).¹⁰ Daniel's failed expectation of the end times in the 160s BCE is thereby revised in the final form of Jubilees by allowing for an extended period of restoration during a prolonged Messianic kingdom (Jub 23:26–31; Russell 1964: 292; Allison 1985: 105–6).

Second, the *Damascus Document's* 390-year schema from the Babylonian exile (CD 1:5–9), as Allison and F.F. Bruce have suggested, presupposes a 490-year timetable until the end of time, consisting of a period of wrath (390 years), a period of "groping" (20 years), the time of the Teacher of Righteousness (unstated, yet stereotypically 40 years), and the remaining time to the eschaton (40 years; Bruce 1957: 16–17; Allison 1985: 10). The Damascus Document also describes how the priestly and lay messiahs will come in the final period of tribulation to "atone for the iniquity" of Israel, this phrase also dependent on Dan 9:24 (CD 12:23–24; 14:18–19; Beckwith 2001: 223; Garnet 1977: 97).

Third, *11QMelchizedek* (11Q13) likewise refers to the "the jubilee that follows the nine jubilees" (i.e., for a total of ten jubilees; 490 years), which is at its completion followed by the Day of Atonement for all the Sons of Light and men of the lot of Melchizedek (Feldman 2018: 5). In a broken text, 11QMelch ii 18 explicitly quotes either Dan 9:25's or 9:26's reference to the "anointed" and arguably identifies him with the "messenger" who "announ[ces salvation] . . . to comfo[rt] the [afflicted]" (cf. Isa 52:7) and the "anointed of the spirit" (11QMelch 6, 9, 13; cf. Isa 61:1). This figure arises in the final week of the 70 week-years, based on Dan 9:24–27, although the period has been reformulated as ten jubilees (also 490 years) (Beckwith 1980: 171; 2001: 223).

Fourth, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* in 1 Enoch (1 En 93:1–10; 91:11–17) plausibly used a 490-year periodisation, derived from Daniel, to divide human history into ten “weeks” of at least 490 years each (Berner 2006: 166). Yet the ten “weeks” are not without strain correlated with biblical history, and modern attempts to demonstrate the text’s method can be accordingly less than convincing (e.g., Koch 1983: 414–20). The “turning point of history” (Bergsma 2007: 240) in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is the seventh week, a time of great wickedness and tribulation (1 En 93:3–9) preceding the judgement, even though the eschaton does not arrive until the end of the ten weeks (91:15–16). So the *Apocalypse of Weeks* is both reliant on Daniel for the importance of the seventh jubilee and also attempts to expand the timetable of ordinary human history for another three “weeks” of 490-year or more periods (Bergsma 2007: 240–1).

Fifth, *4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C* (4Q387a, 388a, 389, 390) predicts a time of great sin which will take place seven jubilees after the exile (4Q390 i.7–8). The sin involves abandonment of law, festivals, sabbaths, and of Israel’s covenant, and an earlier period of sinfulness in the priesthood, as in *Jubilees* 23, and apparently refers to the crisis of the 170s–160s BCE. Similar to Daniel 9’s week-years, the jubilee period begins with “the destruction/desolate state of the land”, i.e., the exile (Beckwith 2001: 224). Notably, 4QApocJer attributes Daniel’s reinterpretation of Jeremiah’s 70-year prophecy to Jeremiah himself (Bergsma 2007: 277). But in associating the Antiochene crisis with only the seventh of ten jubilees, it effectively pushes Daniel’s 70 week-years to a further 150 years in the future, thereby recalculating the end times to just before the Common Era (Beckwith 2001: 225) – a revision which coincides precisely with the late first-century BCE date of the manuscripts.

Sixth, *4QPeshar on the Periods* (4Q180, 181) is a fragmentary text also employing periods of ten jubilees (490 years), arguably with dependence on Daniel, but so as to periodise biblical history from creation to the exile (although not all of the periodisation is extant; Beckwith 1980: 169). It also makes mention of a further period of 70 week-years in which Azazel leads Israel astray, probably equivalent to an eighth decade of jubilees following the exile (Beckwith 1980: 170). The end of the tenth jubilee would then also coincide with the early to mid-Herodian period (first century BCE) in which it is written (Bergsma 2007: 254).

Seventh, *Greek Testament of Levi* 16–18 describes a 70-week period in which Israel “will go astray and profane the priesthood and pollute the sacrifices” (16:1). The 70 weeks are equated with a period of jubilees in 17:1–2 (Beckwith 2001: 227), although measured not by years but by the succession of priesthoods. The references to Antiochus (17:8–10), the rededication of the temple by Judas (17:10–11) in the fifth week of the seventh jubilee (164 BCE), and Jonathan’s accession to the high priesthood in the seventh week of the seventh jubilee (152 BCE) push the 490-year period ahead to the turn of the Common Era (Beckwith 1981: 523).

Eighth, Josephus, *Antiquities*, claims that Daniel prophesied the Roman destruction of the temple in 70 CE (Jos. *Ant* 10.11.7/10.276). The language Josephus uses, in particular that Daniel predicted that the country would be made “desolate”, together with Josephus’s placement of this Danielic prophecy immediately

following his discussion of Daniel 7–8 (10.269–275) and his identification of the fourth kingdom (of iron) as Rome (10.208), strongly suggest that Josephus is reinterpreting Daniel 9 in 10.276. That conclusion is made stronger by Josephus’s introduction to Daniel in 10.267, in which he claims that Daniel was the only prophet to specify particular times for his prophecies: “he did not only prophecy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment”. Such precise times are only evident in Dan 9:24–27; 11:31; 12:11.

Ninth, Josephus, *Antiquities*, reports a tradition about the Hasmonean king Aristobulus I, and implicitly about his successor Alexander Jannaeus, which appears to offer a different reinterpretation of Daniel’s 70 week-years. In *Ant* 13.11.1/13.301, Josephus claims that

Aristobulus, intending to change the government into a kingdom . . . first of all put a diadem on his head, four hundred and eighty-one years and three months after the people had been delivered from the Babylonian slavery, and were returned to their own country again.

As Bruce notes, Aristobulus ruled only one year, placing the reign of his successor Alexander Jannaeus close to the beginning of the 700 week-year (Bruce 1957: 16–17). Eusebius, apparently relying on Julius Africanus, reports a similar period of 482 years from Cyrus to Alexander Jannaeus (Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* 8.2/394b–d).

Tenth, Josephus in *Jewish War* also reports the Zealot discovery of an oracle in their sacred writings which predicted that “about that time [i.e., before the Jewish War] someone from their country should become ruler of the world” (*War* 6.5.4/6.312). While Josephus obsequiously and perhaps disingenuously identifies the Roman emperor Vespasian as that world ruler, the Zealots were most probably relying on the calculations in Daniel to identify the cutting off of the high priest Ananus and their expectation of a Jewish Messiah (Beckwith 2001: 266, 230). Beckwith observes that Josephus’s earlier description of Ananus as “cut off” displays affinities with Dan 9:26, and that Josephus, interpreting Dan 9:26, there treats Ananus as the catalyst for the Jewish War (*War* 4.5.2/4.318, 323; Beckwith 2001: 269). Tacitus also refers to the existence of a Jewish prophecy about a world ruler from Judea (Tacitus, *History* 5.13), noting that he was predicted to appear *eo ipse tempore* (“at that very time” [immediately before the Jewish War]), again indicating its basis in Daniel’s precise calculations.

Eleventh, the *Assumption of Moses* divides the time from Moses’s death (2500 *Anno Mundi*) until the end into 250 times (*tempora*) or hours (*horum*). The text makes explicit reference to Daniel 9, predicting *ex eventu* that the Israelites will be in captivity “for about 77 years” (*As.Mos* 3:14; cf. Dan 9:26–27) before the intercession of Daniel (*As.Mos* 4:1–4; cf. Dan 9:4–19) and return from exile (*As.Mos* 4:6). There appears to be some correlation between the 250 times and the Danielic years and, although this is not made explicit, the end-times tribulations (*As.Mos* 7–8) are predicted *ex eventu* to occur after a time of corruption of the

priesthood under the Hasmonean Kings (*As.Mos* 5:4–5; 6:1) and after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (*As.Mos* 6:8–9).

Twelfth, *Old Greek Daniel* 9:26–27 doubles the 70-week-year prophecy to $7 + 70 + 62 + 1$ week-years. Dean Ulrich makes the plausible suggestion that the OG is thereby responding to the original failure of the 70-week-year prophecy after Antiochus, and so reinterpreting the prophecy by pushing the end times into the distant future (Ulrich 2014: 1065; cf. Rösel 2013: 216). This may have been achieved exegetically by reading *shiv'im* (seventy), not *shavu'im* (weeks; Montgomery 1927: 380; Adler 1996: 207; Grabbe 1997: 599).

In addition to these 12 examples, the description of the successive reigns of 70 “shepherds” in the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 Enoch 89–90) represents an independent attempt to expand Jeremiah’s 70-year prophecy. Dated to the time of the Maccabees (1 En 90:6–19),¹¹ the *Animal Apocalypse* commences with the destruction of the Northern tribes (89:56–58) rather than the Judean exile, and cannot be adequately correlated with Daniel’s 70 week-years.¹² James VanderKam demonstrates the numerous cross-references to Jeremiah 25 as a source for the *Animal Apocalypse* (including the designation of pagan rulers as shepherds from Jer 25:34–38; the account of the eschatological battle in 1 En 90:18–19 from Jer 25:16, 27–28; and Judah’s disobedience against prophets as the reason for the punishment in 1 En 89:51–53 from Jer 23:3–8 (VanderKam 1984: 165–7). The text’s construction of 70 shepherd-reigns thus results from an exegesis of Jeremiah’s 70-week prophecy in Jeremiah 25 carried out independently of Daniel. Christoph Berner rightly concludes that “Es scheint daher einzig adäquat, die 70 Jahrwochen und die 70 Hirtenzeiten als voneinander unabhängige Antworten auf das Problem der von Jeremia prophezeiten 70 Jahre zu fassen” (Berner 2006: 213–14).

The reception of Daniel’s 490-year period until the first-century CE shows that it continued to be applied to authors’ contemporary circumstances, not simply to the original Antiochene crisis in the 160s BCE. Such reinterpretation was assisted by the fact that the ambiguous start date in Daniel 9 could be understood, *inter alia*, as the date of Jeremiah’s prophecy, the coming of Cyrus as the anointed one, the angelic word itself in Daniel 9, Cyrus’s edict of 538 BCE, or the missions of Ezra or Nehemiah. The period itself could also be calculated in various ways, as there was no single established chronology during this period in Judea, and varying chronologies are overestimated by some 33 to 70 years.¹³ There is, in addition, no good ancient evidence of a fixed system of sabbatical years in place from the exile, which offered further freedom for ancient interpreters of Dan 9.¹⁴ The reception history of Dan 9:26–27 also demonstrates the pervasive tendency of later interpreters to apply Daniel’s prophecy to later periods: e.g., *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* places the Antiochene crisis in only the seventh jubilee, providing another 147 years until the end of the 490 years, which takes us close the Common Era; the Greek *Testament of Levi* places the end of the seventh jubilee to the period after Jonathan takes the high priesthood in 152 BCE, also pushing the 490 years into the turn of the Common Era. Jesus thus lived in a time of heightened expectation that Daniel’s 490 years were coming to a climax. By the time of the rabbinic tractate *‘Abodah Zarah* (9a–9b), the word that commences the 70 week-years is reinterpreted as the commencement of Herod’s temple in 20 BCE, so

that Messiah is expected 490 years later in 471 CE. The malleability of Daniel's 70-week-year prophecy therefore afforded ample opportunities for an aspiring early first-century apocalyptic teacher from Galilee.

Summary

The evidence of how others interpreted Dan 9:24–27 is strikingly consistent, and provides a strong indication of how Jesus would have interpreted this prophecy:

- It is a literal period. The 70 week-years were required by Daniel's interpretation of the law of the sabbatical year in Leviticus 25
- The texts which interpret Daniel 9 all refer to the final week of excessive tribulation mentioned in Dan 9:27, also referred to by Jesus when he mentions the abomination of desolation
- These texts all calculate or recalculate the 490-year period to fit their own times

In Mark 13, Jesus highlights the temporal significance of the “abomination of desolation”, in a way that alludes to the Book of Daniel where the phrase first appears, also requiring his followers' esoteric interpretation of Daniel within a matrix of texts including Jeremiah 25/29 and Leviticus's jubilee legislation. Jesus's words must therefore refer to Dan 9:24–27; 11:31; and 12:11, and in particular to those texts' references to both the phrase “abomination of desolation” and also the apocalyptic chronology of 70 week-years. The most probable conclusion is that Jesus interpreted Daniel's 70 week-years in much the same way as most others before him. That is, Jesus propagated an interpretation of Daniel 9 that involved a calculation of the end of the 70 week-years as falling within his own “generation”.

The apocalyptic timetable in Jesus's proclamation at Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30)

To corroborate the conclusions reached above, I will argue that the proclamation in the synagogue at Nazareth, in Luke 4:16–30, preserves a key to Jesus's calculation that he was living in the final week-year of Daniel's 70 week-years.

Luke 4:16–30 is in part dependent on Mark 6:1–6a, which it has transferred from the end of Jesus's Galilean ministry to its commencement, and consequently omitted from its original place in Mark 4:36–5:43; 6:7–13 (a section of Mark otherwise closely followed in Luke 8:18bii–9:6; cf. Tannehill 2005: 5). Yet Luke utilises the material in Mark 6:1–6a merely to construct the frame of his story: that Jesus arrived at the Nazareth synagogue, amazed the crowd, and he spoke of the rejection of prophets in their hometown (Luke 4:16a // Mark 6:1–2ai; Luke 4:22 // Mark 6:2aii–3; Luke 4:23b–24 // Mark 6:4–5). Within this frame, Luke has introduced some significant material not found in his Markan source. The majority of Luke's account of Jesus's Nazareth proclamation is unparalleled in Mark or any other Gospel: Jesus reads from the scroll of Isaiah and proclaims its fulfilment “today” (Luke 4:16b–21); Jesus anticipates that the crowd will quote the proverb,

“Doctor, cure yourself!” (4:23b); Jesus offers Elijah and Elisha as examples of his descriptions of the fate of earlier prophets (4:25–27); and the enraged synagogue crowd try to kill Jesus (4:28–30). In addition, even in the sections which are largely taken over from Mark, Luke employs terms such as “nazara” (4:16; yet cf. Matt 4:13; Chilton 1980–1981: 162–63) and “amen” (4:24) not found in Mark, and which are furthermore uncharacteristic of Luke. In these sections, too, the crowd’s knowledge of what Jesus did in Capernaum (Luke 4:23b) is curiously unexplained, indicating its detachment from an earlier and different context (Fitzmyer 1981: 535; Carroll 2012: 114). These factors, combined with the interrupted chronology, suggest that Luke has not created the tradition¹⁵ and has not simply elaborated Mark’s account,¹⁶ but has incorporated material from a third source which offered a variant of the tradition found in Mark 6:1–6a.¹⁷

There are several indications that Luke’s non-Markan source in 4:16–30 was composed in Aramaic (Violet 1938: 259). The Aramaic form Nazara (Ναζαρά) (in contrast to Luke’s preferred Nazareth (Ναζαρεθ): 1:26; 2:4) and the use of Heb. “amen” (4:24) have already been noted. Jeremias observes that the parallel to “Amen” (ἀμήν) in 4:25, “truly” (ἐπ’ ἀληθείας), may probably also render Heb. “amen” (Jeremias 1958: 51). The use of “and” (καί) five times in Luke 4:16–17, six times in 4:20–23, combined with the use of paratactic *kai* with adversative meaning in 4:26, 27b is typical of a Semitic *Vorlage* (Violet 1938: 259; Jeremias 1958: 51). A number of other expressions sound as though they render Semitic phrases, such as “on the sabbath day” (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων) (Luke 4:16); “book of the prophet Isaiah” (βιβλίον του προφήτου Ἰσαΐου) (4:17); “began to say” (ἤρξατο δὲ λέγειν) (4:21); ἐρεῖτε (from the Aramaic imperfect) in πάντως ἐρεῖτέ μοι (4:23); and the double “except” (εἰ μή) (4:26–27) (Violet 1938: 259; Jeremias 1958: 51). There are good grounds, therefore, to conclude that Luke’s non-Markan source derives from an early Aramaic-speaking Jesus community, if not from Jesus himself.

Earlier scholarship tended to attribute Luke 4:25–27, in which Jesus compares himself as prophet to Elijah and Elisha, to a Hellenistic reinterpretation of Jesus, introducing an interest in the mission to Gentiles within his lifetime (Schürmann 1970: 194; Tannehill 2005: 60). But it is highly doubtful that we see here a straightforward anticipation of this development, which is still a matter of debate in the early Church according to the Book of Acts. The view disregards the specific function of Elijah and Elisha in 4:25–27, which Jesus cites as proof of his contention that a prophet is always rejected in his hometown. The comparison thus serves as proof of his own prophetic anointing, according to Brawley (1987: 9), who has usefully discussed how Jesus’s analogy works here and the inherent limitations of its application. The analogy is strictly between, on the one hand, Jesus rejecting his hometown Nazareth in favour of Capernaum and, on the other hand, Elijah/Elisha rejecting those in Israel in favour of the gentiles (Brawley 1987: 10). So the analogy may be legitimately understood as identifying Jesus with Elijah/Elisha, that is, as prophets, and in particular eschatological prophets. But it is an “unwarranted” application of the analogy to see a contrast of Jewish and non-Jewish territories, as such a comparison breaks down with Jesus’s comparison of Nazareth with *Capernaum* (also Jewish) (Brawley 1987: 10). Such an application of the analogy would also be at odds with the subsequent narrative,

where Jesus relocates to the Jewish town of Capernaum (not to the gentiles) and to other more accepting *Jewish* towns (Brawley 1987: 11). Stephen Hultgren further observes that, even in Acts, the gentile mission does not entail a replacement of the mission to Jews, but an extension of it (Hultgren 2002: 170).

Having provided plausible grounds for concluding that the tradition underlying Luke 4:16–30 derives from the historical Jesus, I turn to its content, although in somewhat reverse order. Jesus's claim to be an eschatological prophet in Luke 4:16–21, and of leaving his homeland, as is the wont of such prophets (Luke 4:23b–24), culminates as we saw in the analogy of himself with the prophets Elijah and Elisha (4:25–27). It is here, after Jesus's eschatological and prophetic self-identifications in the previous verses, that Jesus adds a detail not found in the Elijah-Elisha cycle in Kings, nor indeed in any earlier source about Elijah and Elisha. Referring to the drought in Israel ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡλίου ("in the time of Elijah"), Jesus mentions that the heavens were shut for ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ ("three years and six months": Luke 4:25). This is in contrast to the length of the drought in 1 Kings 17:1; 19:1, which is three years. Notably, Luke mentions the three-and-a-half-year period only in passing, making nothing of it; Joseph Fitzmyer (1981: 538) concludes that it has simply been inherited from the underlying source.

Here the ambiguity of "the time of Elijah" comes into play: Elijah's time occurs not only during the Israelite monarchy, but also, according to Mal 4:5–6; Sir 48:10; 4 Ezra 6:24–26, during the final period of tribulation, when Elijah was expected to return. It is this period which Daniel identifies as the final half-week or three-and-a-half "days" of his 70 week-years. Pitre has made the point clear: "according to Malachi . . . , Sirach, and 4 Ezra, Elijah will not return at just any point in history . . . he will come during the eschatological tribulation" (Pitre 2005: 183). The time of tribulation, or final three-and-a-half years before the eschaton, is the time of return of eschatological agents such as Elijah, Moses, and Enoch. For Jesus, *this time had already commenced* with the return of Elijah as John the Baptist (Luke 16:16 // Matt 11:12–14; Mark 9:11–13). Moreover, the tradition of Elijah as eschatological prophet frequently accompanies a reference to him shutting up the heavens, just as Jesus describes him in Luke 4:25 (Sir 48:3; James 5:17; Rev 11:6). The two other early Christian sources for the drought under Elijah (James 5:17; Rev 11:6) further specify that the period in which he returns lasts for "three-and-a-half years" or "1,260 days". All of these features suggest that the words of Jesus in Luke 4:25 preserve a broader eschatological tradition about the return of Elijah at the end of Daniel's 70 week-years. Strobel likewise concludes that the three-and-a-half-year period must have been imposed from Daniel, although he attributes it to an unknown "pre-existing apocalyptic tradition" rather than to Jesus (Strobel 1972: 41, 49). Yet the presence of the three-and-a-half-year tradition in eschatological contexts in Luke 4:25, James 5:17, and Rev 11:6 becomes all the more remarkable given that both the three-and-a-half-year and seven-year periods of tribulation are very rarely mentioned in any other Jewish literature. In Jewish tradition,

surprisingly, few subsequent seers [after Daniel] took up this reckoning. . . . One is pressed to find other examples [i.e., other than 2 Bar 28:2 and b. Sanh 97a] of the belief that the great tribulation will cover a period of seven years. (Allison 2010: 22)

The three-and-a-half-year period in particular is distinctive to Jesus-tradition, and there within eschatological contexts; it becomes influential primarily within early *Christian* rather than Jewish eschatology. I therefore conclude that this distinctively Christian eschatological tradition is due to the influence of Jesus's own characteristic use of the three-and-a-half-year period to refer to the culmination of Daniel's end-times timetable.

Such a conclusion is anticipated by the pervasive jubilee imagery in the earlier parts of the Nazareth proclamation, in particular in Luke 4:16–21, 23b–24. As discussed above, the decade of jubilee periods was regularly substituted for the 70 week-years in the reception of Daniel up until the time of Jesus. In addition, the final sabbatical cycle of the final jubilee in the final 490-year period before the end times coincides with Daniel's 70th and final week-year. The end times themselves were envisaged as a final "release" of Israel from subjugation by the nations. So it is salient that Jesus's reading from Isa 61:1–2a promises the ἀφέσεως ("release"/דרור) which is also central to the Jubilee laws in Leviticus 25 and Deuteronomy 15.¹⁸ Jesus's description of this release as the ἐνιαυτὸν . . . δεκτόν ("acceptable year": Luke 4:19a; Isa 61:2a) recalls Lev 25:10's ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως ("year of release/Jubilee").¹⁹ The central provision of the Jubilee laws requires the return of all property to the original owners or their family (Lev 25:10, 13). But the laws of the Jubilee also require release of Jewish slaves (Lev 25:54; cf. Luke 4:18) and the cancellation of debts, and so release to the poor (Lev 25:35–38; cf. Luke 4:18). These are both themes highlighted in Jesus's Nazareth proclamation (Sloan 1977: 8). In addition, Jesus's return to his hometown to pronounce this release (Luke 4:16, 24) reflects the jubilee requirement to return to one's hometown (Lev 25:10). Jesus's reading further inserts the phrase ἀποστεῖλαι τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει ("to let the broken go free") derived from Isa 58:6b into his reading of Isa 61:1–2a, the two passages linked by the jubilee keyword שְׁלַח ("send"/"release") Kyung-Chul Park has demonstrated that the ethical admonitions in Isa 58:6–10 – to release the broken/oppressed and help the poor – are dependent on legal requirements set out in the legislation of the sabbatical year and the year of jubilee (Lev 25:2–7, 8–55; Park 2003: 239; cf. Turner 1981: 20; Sloan 1977: 39–40). Isaiah 58:6 thus contains a thematic link to the same jubilee themes found in Isa 61:1–2. In addition, Isa 58:6 would later be included in the prophetic portion of the synagogue readings on the Day of Atonement on which the Jubilee year was announced (Lev 25:9–10; Perrot 1973: 195–204; Tanenbaum 1974: 65; Bovon 2002: 153).

11QMelchizedek had already employed a similar nexus of jubilee texts in its eschatological reinterpretation of the Jubilee year, and its relevance for understanding the Nazareth proclamation has often been noted (Miller 1969: 467–9; Sanders 1975: 56). As Miller has shown, all of the citations in 11QMelch (Lev 25:13, Deut 15:2, Isa 52:7, Pss 82:1–2; 7:8–9) have been included because they explicate phrases from Isa 61:1–2, the same passage interpreted eschatologically by Jesus in Luke 4:18–21 (Miller 1969: 467–9). Significantly, 11QMelch 13 ii 4–8 describes the tenth and final Jubilee which will occur before the end times, and also refers to Daniel's 70-week-year prophecy (in a broken context), providing a close parallel to Jesus's claim that Isaiah's prophecy in Isa 61:1–2a had been fulfilled

with him (Luke 4:21). The Jubilee concepts of שמיטה (“release”/“sabbatical year”) and דרוור (“release”) are applied to השבויים (“the captives”) in אחרית הימים (“the last days”) – a range of motifs very similar to those emphasised in Luke 4. In addition, Melchizedek is identified as a מבשר (“messenger”: 11QMelch 16, 18) and as Daniel’s “anointed of the Spirit” (11QMelch 18), a role which is very similar to the description of Jesus in Luke 4:18 as “anointed by the Spirit of the Lord” to proclaim and bring “good news” (Luke 4:18). The roles of healing and in particular raising the dead are plausibly based also on the same prophetic precedents cited by Jesus: Elijah and Elisha (1 Kgs 17:17–23; 2 Kgs 4:18–37; Mallen 2008: 46). In Luke’s narrative, Jesus will then carry out those very eschatological healings, exorcisms, and resurrections in a sequence of pericopes that are framed by his Nazareth proclamation at the beginning of the sequence (Luke 4:16–30) and his reply to the disciples of John the Baptist at their completion (Luke 7:22; Wendel 2011: 242; Moessner 1988: 44). 11QMelchizedek is therefore invaluable in providing evidence of an existing complex of scriptural justifications for Jesus’s eschatological reinterpretation of the laws of Jubilee; for the anticipated role of various end-times prophetic and anointed agents in bringing about the expected eschatological release (whether the same person or different figures); and for the dating of the types of salvific activities attributed to Jesus to the period of tribulation at the very end of the Danielic apocalyptic timetable.

It should finally be observed that the non-Markan Aramaic source on which Luke 4:16–30 is based identifies Jesus as both anointed herald and prophet, a prophetic-heraldic rather than a royal messiah.²¹ This stands in contrast to Luke’s emphasis on the Davidic-kingly messiah in the adjoining passages of his gospel, and so provides further evidence of his use of an early source.²² Fitzmyer observes that the anointing of the messenger in Luke 4:18 “certainly contains no reference to a Davidic dynasty or a royal function of Jesus” (Fitzmyer 1981: 529). Likewise, for Heinz Schürmann, while the anointing of the eschatological prophet “in Harmonie steht mit dem gesamten Kontext der Perikope”, “das redaktionelle Verständnis des Lukas aber andersartig ist, wird nicht er das Schriftzitat VV 18f und seinen Rahmen VV 17:20f eingefügt haben” (“The entire context of the pericope is in harmony”, “but the editorial understanding of Luke is different; he would not have inserted the quotation of VV 18f within the framework of VV 17: 20f”) (Schürmann 1970: 193; Turner 1981: 26). In Acts 3:20–24, too, Jesus is explicitly identified as the eschatological prophet like Moses, and the Messiah (cf. Acts 7:35; 10:36; Deut 18:15–18). This identification in Acts, according to Larry Hurtado, is a “very early Christological tradition”, corresponding therefore with the earliness of Luke 4:16–30, which similarly portrays Jesus as a prophetic messiah. Acts 3:21 makes the claim that the Old Testament prophets proclaimed the universal restoration (ἀποκατάστασις: Acts 3:21) that was expected for the end times – employing the same term that Philo had used to describe the Jubilee.²³ As is the case in the Dead Sea Scroll descriptions of the one “anointed with the Spirit” (11 חרוה משה: QMelch 18) and “the prophet like Moses” (4QTest/4Q175), the anointing in Luke 4:18 is of an eschatological prophet, perhaps the Moses-to-come (Hahn 1963: 381; Teeple 1957; Lampe 1957: 177). The wider context

of the Book of Luke of course absorbs this early concept of Jesus as an anointed/messianic prophet-herald into its depiction of Jesus as kingly Messiah. Yet these traces of earlier messianic traditions in Luke 4:16–30 and Acts 3:20–24 demonstrate how easily *prophetic*-messianic claims of the historical Jesus, made within his lifetime, could have been transformed and elevated, by later followers who lived after Jesus's death, into messianic claims of a *royal* nature.

Should we embrace the 'crazy' apocalyptic Jesus?

Like earlier and contemporary interpreters of Dan 9:24–27, Jesus applied Daniel's 490-year timetable to his own times. Daniel's prediction, as he interpreted it, provided Jesus with the confidence to proclaim that he and his contemporaries were living in the final eschatological week, and that his generation would see the coming of the Son of Man (Matt 16:28 // Luke 9:27). Jesus relies extensively on Daniel in Mark 13; his central interest is on the *timing* of the end and the *signs* of the end, and he instructs his closest followers to seek esoteric understanding of the end times from the Book of Daniel. These considerations make it plausible that Jesus was calculating the end times by applying Daniel's 70-week-year prophecy to his own time. The conclusion is made most probable by the extensive array of Jewish eschatological texts reinterpreting either Daniel's 70-week-year prophecy or its precursor (Jeremiah's 70-year prophecy). From these texts, it is clear that a central interest of the ancient interpretation of Daniel was in "numerology" and "timetables": recalculating Daniel's end-times' apocalyptic timetable so that it applied to their own times and contexts. In addition, Jesus's Nazareth proclamation preserves part of Jesus's own calculations of Daniel's 70-week-year prophecy. The early Christian tradition in Luke 4:16–30 includes a reference to Daniel's final three-and-a-half years, together with a very early interest in Jesus's role as eschatological prophet, the restorer of all things at the completion of the final Jubilee period in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy reinterpreted via an apocalyptic lens.

Modern defenders of the apocalyptic Jesus have therefore been too quick to distance Jesus from what they assume are the more 'eccentric' or 'crackpot' forms of ancient apocalypticism. The tendency is similar to the prejudice shown by 19th-century liberal opponents of an apocalyptic Jesus, who were unable to reconcile what they saw as his exemplary ethical standards with what they viewed as irrational belief in cosmic battles between demonic and angelic forces. The argument of this chapter is that there are good reasons to embrace the crazy apocalyptic Jesus. Better still, we should fully expunge from the study of the historical Jesus any modern distinction between 'crazy' and 'acceptable' Jewish apocalyptic ideas and behaviours. Such a distinction unilaterally imposes a modern dichotomy, which a dialogical *fusion* of textual and contemporary horizons should challenge and lead us to a different interpretation. Rather than assimilate the past into the present, the Gadamerian principle of *Wirkungsgeschichte* leads us to a reconsideration of Jesus's apocalyptic understanding, while also challenging us to reconsider our own assumptions and prejudices.

Notes

- 1 See the related criticism of this understanding of reception history in Biblical Studies in Breed (2014a, esp. 3–13; 2014b).
- 2 Some of the major recent works demonstrating the basic apocalyptic orientation of Jesus are Meier (1991–2016), Allison (1998, 2010), Fredriksen (1999), Sanders (1985, 1993), Casey (2010), Ehrman (1999). The earlier consensus concerning Jesus's apocalyptic orientation was established by Weiss (1892) and especially by Schweitzer (1906).
- 3 Crossan's analogy of Gandhi also appears to imply that all or most other Indian culture was not only unacquainted with pacifism, but characterised by violence. Yet among the earliest influences on Gandhi were existing Indian strands of Jain and Hindu pacifism, including his mother's: Cortright (2016: 11–12). "Jewish . . . but not *that* Jewish" is the title to chapter 6 in Crossley (2008: 173–94).
- 4 Although Bultmann did not consider that Jesus's message was *limited* to the "objective" cosmic battle of apocalypticism, he acknowledged that such apocalyptic elements were present within Jesus's teaching (Bultmann 1967: 480–1).
- 5 The scholarship on how much of this material may be traced to the historical Jesus is too vast to engage here. But two points to be noted in favour of its basic authenticity are that the predicted timeframe for these future events in 13:30 fails, so is unlikely to derive from a later generation; and the primary content of the prediction fails, because unlike the earlier prediction (13:2), Jesus does not predict the temple's destruction but its profanation in the end times (13:14; Lambrecht 1978: 293; Boring 2006: 358). The lack of any mention of the Kingdom of God is not decisive, because the core of the Mt. of Olives discourse focuses on events preceding its establishment, especially the period of heightened suffering before the end. More suspicious as reflecting later Christian tradition is the mention of a period in which the gospel is preached to the gentiles (13:10) compared with the claim elsewhere that the extension of the good news to the gentiles was unexpected and came via revelation after the death of Jesus: Acts 10:47; 11:2–3, 18; Gal 1:15–17; cf. Mark 7:27; cf. Crossley (2004: 21). In Mark 13:32, the combination of the title "the Son" (unique in Mark) and its tension with the immediacy of the end times predicted in Mark 13:30 make it likely that this and the following verses represent a Christian response to the failure of Jesus's prediction (cf. Pitre 2005: 244). It is also plausible that Mark 13 *combines* Jesus traditions from what were originally different historical settings, presenting them here literally as though delivered to an intimate group of disciples on the Mt. of Olives.
- 6 The term ταῦτα is always used to refer to an antecedent in its 25 other occurrences in the New Testament, and in Mark 13:4 the clear antecedent is the destruction of the temple predicted by Jesus in vv. 1–2, the plural encompassing the other expected eschatological events associated with that destruction (Robert H. Stein 2014: 68): Matt 4:9; 6:32, 33; 13:34, 51, 56; 19:20; 23:36; 24:2, 8, 33, 34; Mark 7:23, 10, 20; 13:30; Luke 1:65; 2:19; 12:30; 16:14; 18:21; 24:9; John 15:21; Acts 7:50; 1 Cor 12:11; with Luke 21:36 referring primarily to the antecedent, but also to those after.
- 7 Any attempt to claim that Jesus is referring to only one of these passages to the exclusion of others would be absurd, given the discourse's reliance on multiple passages from throughout Daniel and also given the expansive popular reception of Dan 9:24–27 and related passages.
- 8 Bergsma (2007: 226), cf. Grelot (1969: 182–6), Fishbane (1988: 486), Collins (1993: 352–3), Meadowcroft (2001: 433), Dimant (1993: 57–76), *pace* Goldingay (1989: 232, 267), who contends that Daniel would have explicitly mentioned the connection to Leviticus 25–26, if he had intended it.
- 9 A number of other texts up to the end of the first century CE may allude to Dan 9:24–27, but have not been included here, because either they are passing references lacking significant discussion or they occur within fragmentary and uncertain texts. 1 *Maccabees*

- 1:54 contains the earliest reference to the phrase “abomination of desolation”, and also interprets it as fulfilled by Antiochus, but contains no further discussion of the prophecy. The *Community Rule* (1QS) may refer to Daniel’s 70 week-years in its reference to “the constellation of the years up to their seven-year periods” (1QS 10.7–8). 4Q225–227 (4QpsJub_{a-c}) refers to a “week” and “this jubilee” in fragmentary contexts. 4Q227 ii 1–2 refers to “six jubilees of years”, but the text is also too fragmentary to draw firm conclusions. 4QPesher on the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (4Q247) refers to “the fi[fth] week” (fr. i 1–2), and the times of Solomon and Zedekiah (fr. i 3), and “the kin[g] of the Kittim” (fr. i 6), but in a very fragmentary text. 4QPesher on the *Periods* (4Q180, 181) employs the same system of decades of jubilees as the Book of Jubilees, and it is reasonable to assume that the sequence of jubilee-decades are extended beyond the conquest down to the seventh decade of jubilees, ending in the exile (albeit within a textual lacuna). The subsequent era in which “Azazel” leads Israel astray is probably the eighth decade of jubilees, corresponding with Daniel’s 490 years, but extending it with two further decades of jubilees (Roger T. Beckwith 1980: 170–1; Bergsma 2007: 255). The fragmentary 6QApocryphalProphecy (6Q12), according to Baillet, provides an eschatological exposition of Leviticus 25–26 also involving jubilees (Baillet 1962: 126). 4 Ezra 14:10–12 calculates the time 30 years after the destruction of the first temple as occurring nine-and-a-half twelfths of the way through ordinary human history (Beckwith 2001: 270). 2 Baruch 28:1–2 claims that “the calculation of that [end] time will be two parts: a week of seven weeks”, a passing reference to Daniel.
- 10 For a recent discussion of the composition history of Jubilees, see Monger (2018: 75–80).
 - 11 Charles (1912: 180), Milik (1976: 44). Num 24:17–19 is less likely the basis for the Zealot claim, as only Daniel records the precise dates, as Josephus recognises (Jos *Ant* 10.11.7/10.267).
 - 12 Contra Dimant (1993: 64). In addition to imposing Daniel’s schema on the *Animal Apocalypse*, Dimant’s division of the 70 shepherd reigns into four depends on modern chronology, which does not correlate well with either Josephus or Demetrius (see note 14 below).
 - 13 It is likely though that Jesus, the author of Daniel, and Daniel’s other interpreters incorrectly dated the start date of Daniel 9:24–27’s prophecy (irrespective of which interpretation is given to the prophetic “word” which marks the beginning of the 490-year period). The available evidence shows that the period from the Exile to the Antiochene crisis was consistently overestimated by Jewish historians. For example, Josephus calculates 639 years from the second year of Cyrus to the destruction of the second temple (*War* 6.4.8: 33 years too many); and 414 years from the first year of Cyrus to Antiochus V Eupator (*Ant.* 20.10: 41 years too many); and 481 years from the return from the Exile to Aristobul I (*Ant.* 13.11.1: 49 years too many). Demetrius calculates 573 years from the Northern exile to Ptolemaios IV (*On the Kings in Judaea*, in Clement, *Stromateis* 1.21.141: 70 years too many). The consistent inflation of the period makes attempts to calculate the 490 years based on the modern calendar methodologically flawed, contra Athas (2009: 5) (538 BCE + 483 years = 55 BCE); Wacholder (1975) (604/3 to 170/169 = 62 week-years; to 113/12 BCE = 70 week-years); Dimant (1993) (583 BCE to 535 BCE = 7 week-years; 604 BCE to 171 BCE = 62 week-years).
 - 14 The inconsistent chronologies assigned to the Persian and Hellenistic periods by ancient Jewish historians demonstrate the lack of any single sabbatical system operating during this time. The irreconcilable sabbatical systems in *Jubilees* and the *Apocalypse of Weeks* confirm this conclusion (Berner 2006: 4, 7; contra Maier 1996; Dimant 1993: 251–9; Wacholder 1975; Strobel 1972: 42). Strobel is right that Jesus would have viewed his own time as Daniel’s final week, but is incorrect to rely on the very late view of Maimonides that official sabbatical years were kept throughout the 490 years to the time of Jesus, and wrong to assume that first-century authors would date the seventh year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 7:8) to the year 458 BCE or its equivalent (483 years

- or 69 week-years before 26/27 CE). Such a dating is based on the modern and not the ancient (inflated) chronologies discussed in note 14 (see Strobel 1972: 42–3).
- 15 Contra Delobel (1973: 213), Bultmann (1968: 32) (although with 4:25–27 from an Aramaic tradition, 4:23 from another source); Anderson (1964: 274–5).
 - 16 Contra Creed (1930: 65), Tannehill (2005: 5), Dömer (1978: 51–7), Fitzmyer (1981: 527).
 - 17 Schmid (1960: 110); Schürmann (1970: 187–206) (reconstructing two stages of tradition within Q: 4:16, 22, 23b, 24, 28–30; and 4:17–21, [23a], 25–27); 1964: 242–58, Streeter (1930: 209–10) (proto-Luke); Leaney (1958: 50–64); Violet (1938: 251–71); Masson (1961: 38–69) (Ur-Markus); Miller (1975: 417–21), Strobel (1972: 38–50), Tuckett (1982: 343–54) (Q).
 - 18 Zimmerli (1970), Strobel (1972: 38–50), Sanders (1975), Sloan (1977), Schürmann (1969: 230).
 - 19 Sloan (1977: 33–5). The LXX translates both יובל (“Jubilee/ram’s horn”) and רור (“release”) with the Greek term ἀφέσεως (“release”).
 - 20 Bock (1987: 106). There is also a shared keyword in the LXX, ἄφεσις (“release”): Mallen (2008: 76), Wendel (2011: 239), Hultgren (2002: 165), Miller (1969: 467–9), Sanders (1975: 97), Sloan (1977: 40).
 - 21 The herald/prophet distinction overlaps, in particular in Isa 61:1–2, where there is an anointing with the (prophetic) spirit (Strauss 1995: 208); see also Targum Isaiah on Isa 61:1: “The Spirit of prophecy . . . is upon me”.
 - 22 Mallen (2008: 74), Bock (1987: 110). The Davidic-royal meaning of his spirit, anointing, and messiahship is foremost, e.g., in Jesus’s baptism (3:22), desert temptation (4:1–13), his going up to Galilee by the power of the Spirit (4:14), and the proclamation of Jesus as Son of God, the Messiah (4:37–41).
 - 23 Philo, *Decalogue*, 164; see Sloan (1977: 73). On Acts 3:21 as “a very early Christological tradition” identifying Jesus as the final eschatological prophet, based on its description of Jesus as the prophet like Moses which is not prevalent after the first century, see Hurtado (2003: 194).

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